Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-226 *23 November 1994*

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Zieleniec, Russian Official on NATO Strike

LD2211230994 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] During a meeting today between Vladimir Lukin, the chairman of the Committee for International Affairs of the lower house of the Russian parliament, and Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec, we managed to find out the opinions of both functionaries concerning yesterday's action by NATO aircraft in the so-called Republic of Serb Krajina.

[Begin Lukin recording in Russian, fading into Czech translation] It is better if such strikes do not happen, and, if they do, it should only be with the approval of all of the parties involved in settling the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. There is a Contact Group whose task is to solve incidents that arise. NATO did not consult this group and struck. On top of that, when one of the parties involved in the conflict carried out an attack, there were no air strikes. So why are there air strikes after the attack of the other party? Is that an unbiased attitude to solving the crisis? Who will believe in this kind of objectiveness? [end recording]

[Announcer] According to Czech Foreign Minister Zieleniec, the NATO air strike was a legitimate response approved by the UN Security Council. The chief of Czech diplomacy said it was impossible to tolerate attacks coming from territories outside Bosnia. Thanks to the NATO action, the war will remain localized.

[Begin Zieleniec recording] If we admitted that more and more regions of the former Yugoslavia could join in the war, the war would soon get completely out of control and will probably become much more dangerous for Europe and the world. [end recording]

Havel on Local Elections, Leon Brittan's Visit

LD2211195494 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1716 GMT 22 Nov 94

["Regular" interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Havel by correspondent Lucie Weissova; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Weissova] Prime Minister, let us return to local elections that took place on Friday and Saturday. The press says that, in fact, three victors in the elections exist: the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL], and the Independents. What do you think about it?

[Havel] That is a very imprecise assessment. In some small villages, there are no political parties, no local branches as there were in the past, under communism. Hence, it is quite logical that the citizens of these villages have come together and have chosen from their ranks and elected a few clever, capable people who, under the circumstances, quite naturally could not have been put forward by any political party. It seems to me that it is absolutely inappropriate to draw any conclusions about the political results of the elections from this. The only possible conclusion about the political results of the elections is to be drawn from the percentage of votes obtained by a particular political party. Of course, the fact that the ODS has obtained over a quarter of the vote, according to the still preliminary statistical data, is a result that reflects an extraordinary success and has really confirmed the results of the parliamentary elections. [passage omitted]

[Weissova] Prime Minister, you had talks yesterday with the European Union commissioner, Mr. Leon Brittan. The government has said several times that it wants to submit an application to the European Union in 1996 and that it assumes the date of entry being 1999. How does Mr. Brittan view these dates?

[Havel] I have always said that one can only influence the date that one decides about oneself. This means that we can influence the time of our application for entry into the European Union, but we cannot instruct anyone to admit us to this institution and organization. I think we have repeated many times that we would send the application before the big intergovernmental conference in 1996, which will define anew the understanding of Europe. I have no other news that would mean a change in your broadcast [as heard]. I think that, after that, serious talks will start. And I do not know if the entry will take place a few months earlier or later. I am a bit nervous when I hear voices, out of context that I cannot place, like yesterday's alleged statement by, for example, French Prime Minister Balladur, who said that speedy acceptance of the East European countries into the EU, NATO, and the WEU [Western European Union] would mean the destabilization of these institutions. I do not know which East European countries he had in mind. I certainly do not know how he meant it, whether he talked about Central European countries and East European ones separately. These are things that, I think, depress us somewhat.

However, that is not what Leon Brittan came here for yesterday. [passage omitted]

Holan Examines Pros, Cons of NATO Admission

AU2211190594 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Nov 94 p 5

[Article by Czech Defense Minister Vilem Holan: "The Advantages and Costs of Admission to NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Because of the comments made by Bram Triestram, the director of NATO's Press and Information Department, who declared in Cesky Krumlov recently that the Atlantic Alliance is trying earnestly to speed up the Czech Republic's rapprochement with this organization and that the initiatives of the next six months will probably be surprising, I am being asked a lot of questions on how prepared the Czech Army actually is or how it is preparing itself for admission to NATO.

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If our admission to this organization indeed depended only upon our Army's organizational readiness, I would say that this could happen shortly after the completion of the Army's transformation. Starting in 1996, we could be ready for admission. Nevertheless, I am afraid that the situation is much more complicated.

Admission to NATO on our part or acceptance into NATO from the point of view of our partners is primarily a political matter. It demands respect for common values and defense of common interests.

It is also necessary to state—although this is a repetition of a well-known fact—that the Czech Republic and its citizens perceive themselves historically to be a natural component of West European culture. Four decades of paradox cannot play an important role in this unconscious historical circumstance. Therefore, our endeavor for integration into structures such as the European Union and NATO is natural and uncompromising and, apart from the extremists, something on which both the coalition and the opposition parties concur.

At the moment, NATO is the only truly effective security force in Europe. Its stability is also, among other things, given by its transatlantic dimension.

If we look from this point of view at the reasons inducing the Czech Republic to strive for integration into this Alliance, we see two fundamental things: The Czech Republic is building its own defense forces commensurately in accordance with the potential preordained by both the size of its population and the efficiency of its economy. In each case, however, there are certain limits to this potential and, thus, limits to the potential for defense itself. Therefore, it is necessary to constitute the security of the state in the form of an alliance.

Historic ties are another reason. The Czech Republic feels itself to be an element of European civilization. So, it must be and wants to be prepared to assume a certain share of the responsibility for Europe's common future. At the same time, it is necessary to realize that we cannot ask for security guarantees without being willing ourselves to accept certain commitments in the interest of the security of the whole of Europe.

Let us look now at the situation from the other side—that is, from the angle from which it is perceived by NATO. Every well-functioning organization looks, first and foremost, for elements to boost its own stability, or it avoids those elements that could impair its stability. We should not be surprised that the strong pressures for the Alliance's rapid expansion soon after 1989 were repelled with equal vehemence. This was nothing more than a defensive reaction by an organism against destabilization. The NATO organism would perhaps have been capable of continuing to function perfectly, but the source of its new dynamism would have been squandered.

This is where external impulses, in the form of attempts by the states of Central and East Europe to integrate themselves into the system, come onto the scene—that is, external impulses for the European Union and NATO. They may be a source of dynamism, and they may also be a challenge to achieve something of better quality. The European Union and NATO could have decided not to accept this challenge. They made a positive decision, of course. The dialogue on "whether" has turned into a dialogue on "when." And now, when it seems that this "when" is within sight, a new issue is cropping up—"how." However, this is a practical issue through and through and, therefore, an optimistic one.

In any case, we are now going through a certain preparatory phase. It is possible to characterize the Partnership for Peace project this way. It would be hard to imagine from day to day that, without its successful implementation, we could become members of NATO. After all, you can change and adapt the organizational structures very quickly, but it takes considerably longer to adjust the thinking and habitual methods of the organization of labor.

It is also possible to anticipate that the conditions for membership in NATO will be clearly defined in the near future—that is, certain standards will be drawn up, which each country applying for membership in the Alliance will have to meet. The "cheap" phase for our decisions is coming to an end, and the phase that will cost us something is beginning. This is a question of not only members' contributions, but also of the quality of our armed forces—that is, of their technical quality.

It is generally known that the weapons and weapon systems with which our Army is equipped are morally and technically obsolete. Everyone also probably agrees with the government's decision not to offset the national debt by purchasing military hardware from the countries of the former Commonwealth of Independent States and thus bind the state's security to this region. In a situation where it is necessary to modernize our Army sooner or later, this means orienting ourselves not only toward domestically manufactured military hardware, but also toward Western—that is, more expensive—hardware. In any case, this will mean considerable investment to the benefit of the Czech Republic's defense.

The question is, to what extent are we really prepared to accept the burdens associated with this path? One thing, however, is already certain today. Defense and national security are not and will not be a matter for the governing coalition alone but, rather, for the whole of society because the whole of society will enjoy the advantages and bear the burdens of our involvement in the Alliance.

Klaus on Human Rights Allegations in U.S. Letter

AU2211163494 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 4 Nov 94 p 3

[Regular interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci in Prague on 3 November: "The

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Idea That the U.S. Congress Helsinki Committee Letter Is an Official Document Is Fallacious"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Krejci] Coupon Privatization Center Director Jaroslav Lizner has been detained. Speculation will certainly arise about this in connection with the recall of Police President Novotny, for instance. Either it was an attempt to quash his endeavors to arrest Lizner or, on the other hand, his arrest should confirm the hypothesis that no one wants to cover up for anyone else. How do you feel about this?

[Klaus] I do not look for any correlation between the two occurrences, and I have never heard of any. Moreover, if I can say something, as far as I know, this entire operation, and not only its execution but also its preparation, took place when Novotny was no longer police president. Hence, I do not believe there can be any connection.

[Krejci] Lizner was allegedly arrested for providing some firm with an advantage in obtaining a majority stake in a certain stockholding company within the framework of coupon privatization. Is that even within the powers of a single person?

[Klaus] I have never heard that Lizner has been accused of anything like that. Therefore, I find it useless to speculate about this. I only heard that he was caught accepting a bribe, which, I believe, is the only complaint so far that has been "aired." I know of nothing else. Moreover, I have no idea even how something such as you mention could be technically executed.

[Krejci] Do you believe this could affect the future course of coupon privatization, foreign investment, and so forth?

[Klaus] There is no direct connection with coupon privatization and its implementation. Moreover, coupon privatization is virtually finished. Just a few more days, and we will never again encounter it in our country. So, I cannot imagine, even in my wildest dreams, what future course it could affect. Furthermore, to believe that foreign investors would consider this as a reason for investing or not investing in the Czech Republic is a useless exaggeration. It really cannot be so.

[Krejci] How do you feel about the activity of dentists and, above all, the College of Dentists, who want to break off contracts with insurance companies that allegedly do not pay them?

[Klaus] This attempt on the part of the dentists really is in violation of all systemic features and could destabilize the entire situation.

[Krejci] You had a letter from the U.S. Congress Helsinki Committee, which states that you should strive for an amendment to the Citizenship Law. The law allegedly discriminates against the Romany minority because it includes a condition of several years with a clean police record. This allegedly represents another punishment in the form of loss of citizenship. How do you feel about this?

[Klaus] First, I would like to say that this letter attracts more attention than dozens, even hundreds, of other letters that reach my desk in a week and that, to my surprise, do not attract such attention. The letter, although the media have been discussing it for a week now, was delivered to my office at 1030 today, 3 November, and it was sent from the United States via our ambassador. That is the first thing that explains the entire atmosphere and the particular aura surrounding this issue. Second, the idea that it is an official document from the U.S. Congress is completely fallacious. It is not. Nevertheless, as you precisely observed, it is a question of one of many ad hoc commissions that form in the U.S. Congress. In this respect, it is not a document with a capital "D." Third, it certainly does not mean that we should not carefully read and study the letter. I do not expect, however, to find anything new in it.

Some of our activists, who have been arguing about our Citizenship Law for several weeks and months, have also managed to get their friends in various international institutions to write letters of a similar type to our state bodies. I have received several such letters.

Otherwise, the government assumed its original stand in the sense that it is defending its previous legal code and does not see any reason to change it. Nevertheless, I believe that we will certainly meet again to discuss this topic, and we will again consider all comments.

[Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 4 November on pages 1 and 3, in a similar interview by Eva Martinkova, adds the question:

"(Martinkova) How do you feel about developments in Slovakia?"

"(Klaus) I would very much like us to observe developments in Slovakia as developments in a neighboring country rather than in a country that is 'half ours' and in which we have the feeling that we know more than we actually do or are even supposed to. We should comment on the situation in Slovakia as cautiously as we comment on the situation in Germany or Austria. I would very much like our citizens finally to get used to this and realize, for instance, that, in Poland, the composition of the government dragged on much longer, and governments have not yet been formed after the elections in Germany and Austria. In this respect, Slovakia is no different. It is understandable that it has its specific features, but I do not believe we have the right to any real input. Of course, we are waiting for the new Slovak Government because practically since the spring we have had no one to deal with, and there are many things that must be discussed."]

Assembly Official on Charges of Discrimination

AU2211194094 Prague MLADY SVET in Czech No 46, 10 Nov 94 p 24

[Interview with Jiri Payne, National Assembly Foreign Committee chairman, by Tomas Nemecek; place and date not given: "I Consider Myself a Beginner"]

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[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Nemecek] The U.S. Congress and the Council of Europe have been criticizing the law on acquiring Czech citizenship. Their experts believe that the law discriminates against Romanies. Can you comment?

[Payne] It is not the only criticism. Several initiatives have emerged over recent weeks that are aimed against the presentation of the Czech Republic abroad. We are considering how to react because these initiatives are not based on anything specific. Our approach has been very magnanimous. Whoever had Slovak citizenship could, under extremely relaxed conditions, take Czech citizenship. At first, it could have been done by a simple change at the office; later, it was necessary to fill out an application, and the small remainder of unsuccessful applicants could appeal the decision in court. It is not true that our condition of a five-year clean record is unsurpassable because the legal code allows for erasing the record.

[Nemecek] Do you consider it to be ordinary criticism, or do you believe it is interference in our internal affairs?

[Payne] To accuse a state that its laws are not right is more a political step than a legal one.

[Nemecek] What does it mean, and what are the consequences?

[Payne] It would be premature to discuss it now. I believe we are able to deal with these issues in a fairly elegant manner. It is a matter of the tactics employed by our delegation.

[Nemecek] A similar problem arose regarding the screening. Did we manage to convince the critics from the Council of Europe then?

[Payne] I used one argument that worked really well. When President Clinton won the election and entered the White House, several thousand employees either lost their jobs or left them. Anyone who wins an election has the right to bring in his or her loyal people. At the same time, it is not possible to lay off everybody. Some ratio must be maintained. If our law stated how many workers may be replaced (without defining any punishments), we have not done anything the victorious party would not do after an election in any Western country. It was a makeshift measure that temporarily deformed the free competition of the labor force in favor of new people. [passage omitted]

Zieleniec Views Approaches to Foreign Policy

AU2211202994 Prague REFLEX in Czech No 46 4 Nov 94 pp 20-23

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Dana Mazalova and Vladimir Kucera; place and date not given: "Minister, Who Are You?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [REFLEX] What is the essence of our national interests?

[Zieleniec] For 45 long years, we were cast away from the life of West European nations that we had led for centuries in the past. Therefore, an important interest of ours is to again become one of the Western countries. I do not mean thereby just the formal issues like membership in the European Union and the North Atlantic Alliance. It is important that everyone is clear about our belonging to Western Europe just like Denmark or Austria. In the civilization sense of the word, we have always been a part of this culture, but a breach occurred in a certain value sequence. It is important to continue from this breach, and that also applies to foreign policy. Nevertheless, foreign policy only builds on what gets done at home. We could try to talk the entire world into believing how advanced and successful we are, but, if it were not so, foreign policy would have no results. I am glad I am foreign minister of a state that demonstrates by each internal political deed the dynamic development of the economy, the stabilization of the legal code and democracy, that we are a part of the West. [passage omitted]

[REFLEX] Where is the border in foreign policy between ethics and utilitarianism or ethical relativism?

[Zieleniec] It is the same border as in domestic policy or in the life of an individual. Talks about morals are useless if they are not tied to practical deeds. Everybody can talk nicely. One can demonstrate his or her moral strength when he or she has to choose, to sacrifice something. A moral assessment is possible only in a specific practical life. The dilemma of morals versus practice is a very questionable one. The division of politics into moral and practical is one of the most deceitful and least moral approaches of which I am aware. [passage omitted]

[REFLEX] Radio Free Europe referred to you in connection with your stand on the invasion of Haiti as a realist. Why is there between you, Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, and President Vaclav Havel such a marked difference in approach to foreign policy?

[Zieleniec] To a great degree, it is just an optical illusion. When our stands are identical, the press does not notice, for which I do not blame it. The journalist must point out interesting phenomena, and it is interesting when one of us puts a little different emphasis on a certain issue or event and assesses it somewhat differently. These differences in foreign policy are not unlike any other country. You will find such discussions also in Poland, Russia, Germany, and Britain.

[REFLEX] So it cannot harm our image abroad?

[Zieleniec] Each of us has a different role to play and a different responsibility. It is logical that we emphasize somewhat different things. You mentioned that Radio Free Europe described me as a realist. That is flattering because however noble the intention, if it is not feasible it often leads to ends quite contrary to those originally intended. How many problems for us were caused by

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various dreams and utopias that were based on good intentions but lacked a real possibility of implementation.

[REFLEX] Do you believe that the Sudeten German issue, which was originally described as marginal, could come to a head?

[Zieleniec] Our stand is precisely defined. The significance of the perpetual returning to the war-related issues will have to subside gradually in the Czech-German relations. It is a matter of historical perspective on positive issues, the question of the future economic, cultural, political, and other cooperation. After the emergence of the new state, we have been, according to international law, in a new geopolitical situation. Numerous circles in Germany have attempted to benefit from this. It is tremendously important that the German political circles perceive the significance of positive cooperation and positive development aimed at the future as a form of departure from the problems of the past. I do not believe this issue can fundamentally affect Czech-German relations and the process of our return among the advanced West European countries. This issue is very visible and audible because those who want it to be very visible and audible are very vociferous. Nevertheless, I am convinced that what should be victorious here—namely, the spirit of cooperation, the spirit of building, and joint prospects in Europe—will prevail. [passage omitted]

[REFLEX] The European Union has plenty of its own problems, and doubts exist regarding our membership in its structures before the end of this millennium. Are you a skeptic regarding this issue, or an optimist?

[Zieleniec] Regarding our admission, I remain an optimist. I do not like the guessing game concerning the date of our admission. The basis of the integration takes place at home—the transformation of our country, economy, and political system that guarantees that one day we will be in the EU. Our potential clearly is such that the Czech Republic will equal other West European countries. The question of the actual date is linked, above all, to the EU summit in 1996. It will decide on the Union policy regarding its expansion. Therefore, I believe that, after 1996, the entire process of our integration will assume an entirely new quality.

[REFLEX] We have been reproached for going West on our own, which allegedly could bring us into a political vacuum, and, in the case of small countries, this always backfires.

[Zieleniec] It is a bit of a misunderstanding because the process of integration is always very individual. Everyone who follows the development of the EU knows it. It depends on the readiness of whichever country to become its part. The Union associates well developed West European countries. One cannot be admitted among such states; one must become one of them. The rest is just a formal process. To emphasize that the integration process depends, above all, on talks in Brussels, which can be expedited by singing in a choir, is an unfortunate illusion that sends a wrong signal to one's own citizens, and it indicates that someone in Brussels, Bonn, Paris, or London is responsible for admission or nonadmission. The burden of responsibility rests, however, on us. Therefore, we emphasize that the integration process must be parallel but not collective. After talks with my counterparts from Poland and Hungary, I believe that they are beginning to understand our policy. [passage omitted]

[REFLEX] Recently, the decisionmaking and readiness of the international organizations to act—in Bosnia, for instance—have been ever more doubted.

[Zieleniec] This question has been frequently aired, but it is incorrect. There is a complex war conflict taking place in former Yugoslavia that has its historical and cultural roots in ancient history and is difficult to solve. A conflict of this type can be solved only if the warring parties are willing. The idea that an international community is able to deal with any craze that emerges in the world is fallacious and has never in history been valid. I have no idea why we apply these yardsticks now. The world can endeavor to help. The European Union, the North Atlantic Union, the United Nations, and Russia are trying to help. Here you see that all possible forces in the world joined; there probably are not any others. This indicates how complex and frenzied this conflict is, but it does not testify to the weakness of the international community.

[REFLEX] But it seems that in Rwanda, for instance, the crises are not being prevented, so they eventually come to a head so that mass murders can no longer be stopped....

[Zieleniec] That is easy to discuss over the table, and everyone is a general after the battle. In reality, it means to interfere in the operation of sovereign states. If we legitimized it, unjustified interventions could easily occur, and international activities could be misused in the interest of a single world power. It is important that our all-human organization United Nations begins to talk about it so as to show that the responsibility for a war somewhere lies, above all, with those who make war. The world can try to help, but no one can relieve the warring parties of their responsibility. [passage omitted]

Views Policy Toward FRG

AU2211125994 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 16 Nov 94 p 7

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Lubos Palata; place and date not given: "Germany Should Come Up With an Offer of Compensation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—*Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec rejects the view that Czechoslovakia's foreign policy after 1989 was—and the Czech Republic's current policy is—oriented, first and foremost, toward the Federal Republic of Germany.*

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"Germany occupies a natural and very important place in our policy, but, on the other hand, our relations with countries such as Denmark, Austria, and the Benelux states are also singularly intense. Our cooperation with Austria is very close, from border and cross-border contacts to contacts between our ministers, prime ministers, and presidents," said Zieleniec.

"The preeminence attached to our relations with Germany comes from their being viewed through the media's lens and from the fact that the German issue is an important domestic political topic. This is, perhaps, the reason for the creation of the illusion about our orientation toward Germany," he added.

[Palata] In an interview for FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, you were critical of Germany's lax approach to the open issues in our mutual relations. Does this mean that, following the compensation of our citizens from Czech resources, it is now the German side's move? In your opinion, what kind of move should this be?

[Zieleniec] As far as what you have called compensation is concerned, it is merely a humanitarian gesture toward our citizens persecuted by Nazism. The terminology here is important because, by giving compensation, we would be surrendering our claims against Germany. In no way is this the case. This claim stands, and we often remind our German partners of it. Our relations, which are very good and intense, should also make progress in this sphere. I personally hope that the German Government will now come up with an offer.

[Palata] Should this offer include compensation for our citizens?

[Zieleniec] You can visualize many steps to improve the atmosphere in mutual relations, but this is a specific step that proffers itself.

[Palata] According to the head of your research institute, Professor Pick, NATO will cease to exist in the next five years on the basis of a decision made by U.S. voters. Would it not be more sensible, instead of becoming integrated into NATO, to strive for membership in the Western European Union [WEU] and to take part in constructing it?

[Zieleniec] No. NATO is important for us, first and foremost, because it is a transatlantic organization. The U.S. presence in Europe is, in our view, an essential element of stability. The WEU is an alliance of European Union [EU] members, whose military structures are at a rudimentary stage and are, at any rate, based on cooperation within the framework of NATO.

If anyone thinks the North Atlantic Alliance will cease to exist within a few years, this is a very poor conjecture. Even the result of the recent elections to the U.S. Congress, in which the Republican Party triumphed, indicates that U.S. voters support the U.S. presence in Europe.

[Palata] Five years have passed since the Velvet Revolution. We should be members of the EU in roughly the same time. Do you think we are already halfway there?

[Zieleniec] I do not like to talk about dates in connection with our integration into the Union because the process of our country's transformation and also the EU's gradual transformation lies at the heart of it. A fundamental shift took place here recently. In past years, emphasizing our effort to integrate into the Union was, first and foremost, a symbol of the fundamental change in our country's orientation and in our foreign policy. In the West, the arguments for expanding the EU were a proclamatory confirmation of the fact that there was no longer an Iron Curtain.

Now, following the expansion of the Union to include Austria and the Scandinavian countries, the integration of our countries has become part of the Union's agenda. The timetable for the individual steps that will precede our membership is being drawn up, and we are talking about the very specific starting points for the integration process. Admittedly, we are not yet talking about negotiations on joining the EU, but these are already tentative discussions. Material was approved at the government session that deals with the establishment of the institutions that should begin to function in our country in connection with the preparations for integration. Preparing for the negotiations on entry is in itself a major task. First and foremost, it is necessary to ensure that we push for an integration advantageous for our Republic, an integration that does not cause shocks in the individual spheres of our lives.

[Palata] You have described gaining membership in the UN Security Council as one of the main successes of Czech foreign policy. On the other hand, however, we had to renegotiate our association agreement with the European Union. We have thus fallen behind Romania and Bulgaria. Will this not hold back our integration into the EU?

[Zieleniec] Membership in the Security Council is more a sign of success than success per se. It is confirmation of how soon after its establishment the Czech Republic was accepted as a reliable partner with a clear orientation. Of course, membership in the Security Council itself is very important for us.

As far as the renegotiation of the association agreement is concerned, its ratification is now at an end, and the agreement will become valid at the turn of the year. It will not delay our integration into the EU. Its expedition is not governed by the date applications are submitted. It is a question of our country's transformation. Many countries have lodged applications for membership and association agreements. Turkey did so more than 10 years ago; Malta and Cyprus are in a similar situation. We have to submit our application at a time when someone will want to read it. Our course of action is highly appreciated by the EU. When all is said and done, a matter-of-fact and serious approach is part of the

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European way of thinking. So, we are also making it quite clear that we are aware of our own responsibility for integration.

Klaus Against Regular Havel Addresses

AU2211130994 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Jitka Goetzova: "Klaus Has Rejected Havel's Effort To Assess in Parliament 'The State of the Union'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Establishing a tradition of presidential March appearances before deputies "does not correspond to our constitutional system and is for me an absolute surprise." This is how Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus (Civic Democratic Party) reacted on 14 November to a question from RUDE PRAVO about Vaclav Havel's initiative, announced on Sunday, to deliver regularly in the Chamber of Deputies "a sort of a report on the state of the union."

As Klaus noted, the president had not informed him of his intention. In his opinion, such a report would have to be worked out and submitted by the government.

To another question from RUDE PRAVO, Presidential Spokesman Ladislav Spacek said that, under Article 64 of the Constitution of the Czech Republic, the president has the right to attend meetings of both chambers of parliament, which will allow him to address them whenever he asks for it. "The president has decided to make use of this right next March and, in subsequent years, to deliver a keynote speech. Naturally, the speech cannot contain a report on the fulfillment of the government's policy statement. It should be the president's view of the state of society," Spacek said. According to the presidential spokesman, this represents no novelty or surprise. As the spokesman pointed out, the president had already delivered two such keynote speeches to parliament, with the prime minister present on both occasions.

President Havel addressed deputies on 23 February 1993—that is, shortly after his election—and on 12 October 1993.

In late 1993, the coalition rejected the opposition's proposal that in midterm the Cabinet render before parliament an account of the fulfillment of its policy statement. In a written reply to an interpellation at the end of September, Klaus promised that, during the debate on the budget in December, he would deliver a speech in the Chamber of Deputies that could meet to a certain degree the opposition's demand for an evaluation of the fulfillment of the government's policy statement. A month later, Klaus announced that the government probably would not reply to opposition deputies' general questions concerning, among other things, the fulfillment of the policy statement because, if he had to burden his civil servants with replies to dozens of detailed questions, there would be no one to prepare background material for his speech.

Jan Kasal (Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party), deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, believes, according to CTK, that the president's intention will be gratefully accepted and that "other components of power in our country could also assume a similar stand." Marek Benda, chairman of the Christian Democratic Party Club of Deputies, would welcome the presentation of a certain analogy of a "report on the state of the union," which, however, should be presented "on behalf of all the executive power." For the time being, he does not know, however, whether the president's intention is identical to his own idea because he would regard it as an unsuitable model if the president delivered such a report and the prime minister then delivered a different one.

Jaroslav Ortman, chairman of the Left Bloc Club of Deputies, said that he understood the president's speech as the head of state's personal view of developments in the Czech Republic. He also believes that, in addition to the president, the prime minister should deliver a speech in March on the fulfillment of the government policy statement.

Minister Wants Better Economic Ties to Kuwait

LD2211174694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Our special correspondent Jitka Kucerova has phoned in to brief us on the continuing visit of Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, to Kuwait.

[Kucerova] Minister Dlouhy's meeting with Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah, the heir apparent and prime minister, was basically a courtesy meeting. However, Vladimir Dlouhy has emphasized, I quote: We are somewhat concerned because we have not managed yet to fully transform the very good political contacts between our two countries into economic contacts, although we believe that there are good and certainly not small prospects for doing so.

Minister Dlouhy is accompanied by the general directors of Technoexport, Skodaexport, Skoda Praha, Commercial Bank, and Chemapol. As a result, the talks with the Kuwaiti minister of commerce and industry, the minister of communications, electricity and water, and the first deputy minister for oil have dealt with the possible participation of Czech companies in the development of some facilities in the Kuwaiti oil industry and future cooperation in this area, including the purchasing and processing of oil.

The Czech delegation will end its visit to Kuwait at approximately 2000 hours and will leave for the United Arab Emirates. It is expected that, besides holding a number of talks, it will sign an agreement on investment protection.

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Privatization of Budvar Still Unresolved

95CH0040D Prague PRAGUE POST in English 1 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson: "Battle Continues for Stake in Czech Budweiser"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Anheuser-Busch may have temporarily backed off from its attempt to buy a stake in the Czech brewery Budejovicky Budvar, but the giant American company continues to woo residents of the south Bohemian town where Budvar is made.

In its latest effort to win public support for the eventual purchase of a Budvar stake, Anheuser-Busch on October 21 opened the St. Louis Center—described in company literature as "a cultural enrichment facility"—in Ceske Budejovice.

The company sank some $1 million into the purchase and restoration of the 700-year-old building, a former town house and pub located near the town's main square.

Critics such as Stephen Cox, a spokesman for the Campaign for Real Ale, a British organization that promotes small breweries, charged that Anheuser-Busch's efforts don't stem from a desire to do "social work." But the promotional campaign appears to have won Anheuser-Busch plenty of friends in Ceske Budejovice.

Over the past two years, Anheuser-Busch has offered English classes for townspeople and co-sponsored a Bata Junior Achievement program that offers applied economics classes in high schools. The company, which owns the St. Louis Cardinals baseball team, has contributed to Ceske Budejovice's Sports Center for the Physically Handicapped and has sent 45 Czechs to the United States for visits. It has even offered free cholesterol tests for town residents.

Many residents were quick to reject any thought of Anheuser-Busch's tampering with Budvar's time-honored brew. Many locals clearly like what the American company is offering their town.

Susan Fukova, 17, one of 24 students from the Anglo-Czech High School recruited to help out at the center's opening, beamed when asked how she liked the center. "It is for people," she said.

"You get a chance to learn English," said Marketa Dvorakova, 14, another student at the school.

"Budvar doesn't like having the Americans here, but I like it," said Marie Bromova, a resident of the town for 59 years. Pausing to watch the festivities at the center, Bromova said she appreciates the cross-cultural exposure that the American presence brings.

Jaroslava Musilova, who was drinking a Budvar at Masne kramy, a famour pub near the cultural center, had similarly positive feelings about the center, although she stressed that the American company should not think of altering Budvar's formula.

"Czech beer is Czech beer," she said emphatically.

At a press conference to the ribbon cutting, Stephen J. Burrows, president of Anheuser-Busch International Inc., attempted to assuage fears that Budvar would be altered if the St. Louis company gains an interest in the brewery. "We have already put in writing a guarantee that we would never change Budejovicky Budvar beer," said Burrows.

Officials of the U.S. [illegible]pany announced earlier in October that they will "[illegible]undle" negotiations over the Budweiser trademark from efforts to purchase an interest in the state-owned Czech brewery.

Both Anheuser-Busch and the Ceske Budejovice brewer market beer under the name Budweiser. In most parts of the world, one company or the other owns the trademark, but in much of Europe the right to use the familiar Budweiser name is in dispute. Anheuser-Busch had hoped to buy an interest in Budvar as part of a trademark settlement, but recently gave up on handling the two issues together, complaining that the Czech government has taken far too long to decide how Budvar should be privatized.

Negotiations will go forward on the trademark in the next couple of weeks, and once those issues are settled, the company will again pursue its effort to purchase a stake in Budvar, said Burrows.

The Anheuser-Busch executive responded negatively to a reporter's suggestion that the American company, which is involved in lawsuits with Budvar in 16 countries, is trying to "sue Budvar to death."

"It's not logical to think that if we wanted to be a partner with someone, we would drag them around the world and throw them in court," he said. "We want to be a partner with a leading brewery with a leading brand in a good beer area."

In deference to the heightened emotions surrounding the trademark dispute, Budweiser beer of all kinds was conspicuously absent from the center's opening ceremonies.

The students from the Anglo-Czech High School, wearing T-shirts with red-white-and-blue motifs and baseball hats, passed around champagne, which Anheuser-Busch does not manufacture, and soft drinks.

Only in a small bar in a back room was Michelob, another Anheuser-Busch product, on tap.

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Newspaper Exposes StB Infiltration of Groups

AU2211172294

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 15 November on pages 1 and 3 and on 18 November on page 3 publishes in two installments a 6,500-word interview with two unidentified "well-informed researchers" by "Vlado Raic and the daily SMENA," entitled "StB Agents in Disguise; From Gestapo to Victorious November '89." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with "the thorough infiltration of present democratic structures by the structures of the former totalitarian regime" and, more specifically, with the presence of registered agents and informers of the now-defunct StB communist secret police in prominent positions in present-day Slovak politics. According to SMENA, the publication of the interview is intended as the daily's contribution to the fifth anniversary of the November 1989 "Velvet Revolution."

The daily deliberately conceals the identity of its sources (who are referred to as "Mr. X" and "Mr. Y"), "mainly for the sake of their security" because "the whole affair smacks of a major scandal." SMENA vows, however, that its sources' material is authentic and that documents proving their assertions have been given to the newspaper's editorial desk. The information reportedly comes from the former Federal Interior Ministry.

For the sake of simplicity, SMENA has edited the interview and presents it as conversation with a single interviewee. Throughout the interview, SMENA's sources refer to the alleged StB agents in present Slovak power structures only by their code names and registration numbers, although, in some cases, various hints allow their identification. The sources express their readiness, however, to reveal the agents' "complete birthdates and full names in the event of readers' great interest." They also recommend that SMENA readers cut out the interview, send it to the parliamentary Petition Committee, and call on the incriminated functionaries to present their screening certificates.

In the first installment of the interview, SMENA's sources allege the presence of former high-ranking StB officers and agents in the ranks of influential political parties, the government, Prosecutor General's Office, the Presidential Office. the Slovak Information Service, and other institutions.

According to the interview, there are two former StB agents in Jozef Moravcik's present government. One of them, with the code name "Brezina" (registration number 10,598), is a representative of the Party of the Democratic Left (SDL). The other, with the code name "Skopec," registration number 9,002, represents the Democratic Union (DU). Another agent in the DU leadership, according to SMENA, has the code name "Richard" and is registered under the number 22,009.

However, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) is not spared, either. While "the name 'Doctor,' registration number 31,048, is sufficiently known," SMENA's sources say, in an apparent reference to the accusation of HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar's alleged collaboration with the StB, "the names 'Matej,' registration number 28,071, and 'Ivan,' registration number 21,612, are less well known." HZDS deputy "Ivan" reportedly made a name for himself when he recently proposed in parliament the dismissal of the director of Slovak Radio. In the opinion of SMENA's source, this demonstrates that the "agents are active." According to the source, StB agents are also in the leadership of the Slovak National Party (code name "Tapka," registration number 9,518, and "Harmonia," registration number 13,902), the leadership of the Slovak Heritage Foundation (code names "Economist," "Hurban," "Kapitol," "Blaho," "Pamir," "Drahos"), the leadership of ethnic Hungarian parties (code names "Laszlo" and "Laco"), and the Democratic Party (code names "Kupec" and "Cakatel"). The founder of the Social Democratic Party reportedly was an StB informer registered under the code name "Piestansky."

StB agents reportedly also are in the ranks of Radio Free Europe (director P.P., registered as StB informer, and code name "Karel," registration number 20,606), the Slovak Helsinki Committee (code names "Tono" and "Skala"), the Confederation of Political Prisoners (code names "Riman," "Ovruc," "Mirek," "Zahrada," "Oravec," "Zlato," "Potok Sokol"), and the Bratislava branch of the Charter 77 Foundation. "In the famous Charter 77 Foundation, there is an informer with the code name 'Gregor,' registration number 22,360, who was later awarded the title of 'Woman of Europe,'" the source says in an apparent allusion to Slovak writer and journalist Zuzana Szatmaryova.

Moving to other institutions, SMENA's sources note that, in the Slovak Information Service, the present secret police, there is a "high-ranking functionary with the code name 'Scarabaeus,'" in the General Prosecutor's Office an agent with the code name "Radio," and in the Presidential Office "an employee in a highly exposed position who is registered under the code name 'Croma,' registration number 32,678." Another of the "president's men," a former functionary of the Socialist Youth Union, is also alleged to be a registered agent.

SMENA's sources maintain that this "thorough infiltration of present democratic structures by the structures of the former totalitarian regime" is a "direct consequence" of a pre-November 1989 StB operation called "Klin" (Wedge), the aim of which was to infiltrate dissident organizations and "independent structures" in order to control opposition to the communist system. SMENA's sources suggest that the agents continue to act according to the pre-November 1989 scenario.

The second installment of the interview deals with the role allegedly played by StB agents in the events of the November 1989 revolution and immediately thereafter. SMENA's source emphasizes the fact that Jan Budaj,

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"one of the two central and legendary tribunes of November 1989," was a "secret collaborator" of the StB, who "had been maneuvered into his position by someone's experienced hand." The source also suggests possible StB links of Milan Knazko, the second "tribune" of the November 1989 rallies, saying that "Mr. Knazko has not explained to this day why, even before November, his screening card had been blocked by military counterintelligence officers in Trencin." SMENA also lists the code names of other alleged StB agents who were at the forefront of the anticommunist movement and who, immediately after November 1989, held posts in the Public Against Violence Coordinating Center, the government, and parliament: "Motor" (registration number 22,768), "Kamil" (9,821), "Tourist" (4,759), "Frano" (28,406), "Lada" (302), "Docent" (12,581), "Economist" (20,489), "Monika" (27,093), "Planner" (13,138), "Professor" (13,195), "Sculptor" (13,293), "Bela" (28,540), "Radio" (37,101), "Specialist" (18,532), and "Klima," at present a lecturer at Comenius University in Bratislava, who is described as "the current idol of young Bratislava nostalgists, beatniks, poets, and students."

SMENA's interview partners then discuss in detail the StB's involvement in the founding of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH). The "ubiquitous" StB reportedly "not only assisted in the founding of this opposition right-wing political party but also in its being co-opted into parliament, in the formation of the [first post-November 1989] government, and even in the movement's press organ." SMENA's source claims: "The KDH grew up directly on StB soil. It happened in a garden house in Dubravka [part of Bratislava] belonging to an StB agent with the code name 'Viktin,' registration number 31,258, and in Lamac [another part of Bratislava], in the house of an agent with the code name 'Engineer,' registration number 20,275." The source goes on to list other "key code names" that reportedly played an important role in the KDH's founding, such as "Xaver," registration number 5,522; "Croma," registration number 32,678, who later switched to the Christian Social Union; "Switchman," "Vrbovsky," "Jozef," "Compatriot," "Tono," "Skala," "Salto," "Lipsky," and "Richard." Speaking about "Richard," the source mentions that, after the declaration of Slovak independence, the KDH even put him forward as its candidate for the post of Slovak president. This appears to be an allusion to Anton Neuwirth, Slovakia's present ambassador to the Vatican and honorary KDH chairman. SMENA's source claims that genuine anticommunist resistance fighters from among KDH founders, such as Ponicka, Selecky, and Hoffman, had successively been pushed out of leading positions in the movement "because, in strict accordance with 'Operation Wedge,' places in parliament and the government had been reserved for StB agents and their chosen ones." The source also maintains that KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky "could have kept watch over the purity of his own ranks, if he only had had enough political will" because, when Carnogursky became deputy federal prime minister on 6 December 1989, he took over responsibility for the StB headquarters. Another "key KDH exponent" who could have influenced the movement's purity is, according to SMENA, "today's general of the police, who had been prepared for November 1989 by StB officer Vit Paces from Malacky, where he also lived." This appears to be an allusion to Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner, who was recently promoted to the rank of police general.

In the opinion of SMENA's interview partners, Slovakia's present reality is influenced not only by the repercussions of the StB's "Operation Wedge," but also by the aftermath of the German secret police Gestapo's operation "Vampire" of 1945, which they describe as the "model" for "Operation Wedge." Within the framework of operation "Vampire," the Gestapo, before its withdrawal from Slovakia in 1945, reportedly instructed its Slovak agents to join the communist party, the security forces, and the public administration. It also "pulled out some of its usable agents" and allowed them to settle in Germany "so that they could exert influence from the outside." According to SMENA's source, one of the "direct consequences" of operation "Vampire" is that "many exponents of the Slovak exile, particularly from Germany, such as Kruzliak and company, were pushing with all their might for the partition of the Czechoslovak Federation."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 19 November on page 2 carries a 400-word TA SR report on a news conference given by Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner in Bratislava on 18 November. The report includes the following passage on Pittner's reaction to the allegations published by SMENA on 15 and 18 November: "Commenting on the articles published in SMENA, the minister said: 'The data the daily SMENA published on Tuesday and Friday in the article 'StB Agents in Disguise' could not have been provided to the editorial desk by rank-and-file citizens. Only former StB members or staffers who worked in various intelligence services after November 1989 or still work in them can avail themselves of such data.' If this is the case, the minister continued, these 'experts' acted in an extremely irresponsible way because they were confusing apples with oranges. Even the so-called screening law distinguishes between StB agents, candidates for cooperation, and informers. As those three categories were lumped together in the articles, people who consciously collaborated with the StB and those who had been selected by the StB as possible collaborators and who, in most cases, did not even know about it were put on one and the same level."

Carnogursky Views Current Political Scene

AU2211163194 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with KDH Chairman Jan Carnogursky by Pavol Minarik in Bratislava; date not given: "Meciar Is Not Forming a Government Because He Is Afraid of a Vote of No Confidence"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] [Minarik] Following the recent long parliamentary night [3-4 November] in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, you declared that the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] would never enter into a coalition with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]. What led you to this decision?

[Carnogursky] The events that took place during that long parliamentary night, when the coalition involving the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] repeated the scenario of the days following the 1992 elections. Then, as now, deputies were switched wantonly from one committee to another. The coalition also expressed no confidence in two members of the Moravcik government, although it had submitted its resignation before this. So, according to the Constitution, the coalition had no right to do this. It also adopted a law not only on rescinding the government's decisions on certain privatization projects, but also rescinded the purchase agreements concluded on the basis of the government's decisions. It has thus violated the stability and security of ownership relations, enshrined in the Slovak Constitution.

[Minarik] In your opinion, why does Vladimir Meciar not want to form a government when he has a sufficient parliamentary majority?

[Carnogursky] He is afraid that no confidence would be expressed in such a government. He is very well aware that his parliamentary support—for example, that of the ZRS—is very unstable.

[Minarik] So, what do you think are the chances of a government being formed, since, in the end, one must be formed?

[Carnogursky] Yes, a government must be formed. For this reason, the KDH, which admittedly is refusing to go into a coalition with the HZDS in view of its political acts, is willing to support it in the formation of a minority or majority government. This means that we are willing to vote for the draft 1995 budget and its policy statement and also take part in certain other votes. We are willing to negotiate terms for supporting an HZDS government, even though we will not be in it.

[Minarik] Did you expect that the ZRS would support the HZDS so expressively, especially during that recall night in parliament?

[Carnogursky] Yes, I did. The ZRS has made it quite obvious, through its fundamental political orientation, the circumstances surrounding its establishment, and its political declarations before and after the elections, that it stands alongside Meciar.

[Minarik] A parliamentary majority and a government majority are, according to Meciar, obviously two different things.

[Carnogursky] These are merely attempts by the HZDS chairman to confuse the public, to confuse people by introducing new concepts. There is no government majority. There is only a parliamentary majority or a parliamentary minority.

[Minarik] Inasmuch as Weiss's Party of the Democratic Left has also decided, after some marking of time, not to negotiate with the HZDS on forming a government, what further possibilities do you see for forming one?

[Carnogursky] The HZDS bears primary political responsibility for the current situation because it won the elections. It is necessary to emphasize the personal responsibility of HZDS deputies—for example, of Alica Bielikova, Ida Rapaicova, Jana Gantnerova-Soltysova, Dusan Slobodnik, Eva Zelenayova, and others—for the political situation in which Slovakia now finds itself. They also bear responsibility for the statements and policy of their chairman, Meciar. The HZDS is blocking the current Moravcik government, but it does not want to form a new cabinet itself and thus assume responsibility for running the country. So, a state of anarchy is emerging in Slovakia that will inevitably lead to the collapse of the economy and the political enfeeblement of the Slovak Republic. The deputies I have named, and also others, will either realize this, draw conclusions from it, and change their political stances, or Slovakia will continue to decline, and their responsibility for it will continue to increase.

[Minarik] Do you not offer any other possibility for forming a government in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] There is another possibility—that a sufficiently large group of deputies, one willing to agree with the current governing coalition on a political line other than that asserted by Meciar and form a government, will break away from the HZDS.

[Minarik] This does not seem too realistic, however. What then?

[Carnogursky] Then the situation and Slovakia's position in the world will only get worse.

[Minarik] Meciar himself said recently that political unrest could attach itself to social unrest, and absolutely everyone would then be swept away.

[Carnogursky] I came into official politics straight from prison, so I am not afraid.

[Minarik] You have been abroad frequently since the elections. How do they view developments in Slovakia there, especially after that parliamentary night?

[Carnogursky] The world does not understand Slovakia. I do not mean this as criticism of the world, however. It is merely a statement of fact. After the elections and the subsequent events in Slovakia, the world is presumably saying that developments in our country are so incomprehensible that it will not even make the effort to understand them.

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[Minarik] Czech Prime Minister Klaus said again recently that, over the past six months, his government had no one to talk with in Slovakia. Do you agree with him?

[Carnogursky] Since it did not want to talk, it had no one to talk with.

[Minarik] What comes to mind regarding the fifth anniversary of 17 November and current events in Slovakia?

[Carnogursky] I have always enjoyed politics. I enjoyed it before November 1989, and I enjoy it now. It was interesting then, and the same applies now. Despite all of the complications that have occurred in political development, it was good that November 1989 happened and that the communist regime collapsed. In 1989, such fundamental changes took place in our country and, in fact, throughout the communist bloc that it is possible to compare them with the greatest revolutions of the past, with the Russian, French, English, and other revolutions. Dramatic developments that lasted for several years followed these major revolutions. For example, after the French Revolution, revolutionary development continued with more than two decades of Napoleonic wars. From this point of view, it does not surprise me that there is still a period of political uncertainty in our country and in other former communist countries. It will be some time yet before the new economic, political, ideological, and cultural conditions are stable.

Kovac, Kanis Address Military Conference

LD2211212294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A military scientific conference to evaluate task fulfillmen' by :he Slovak Army during this exercise year began in Trencin today. The conference was attended by, among others, Michal Kovac, the Slovak president and commander in chief of the Armed Forces, and Defense Minister Pavol Kanis. Jozef Tuchyna, Slovak Army chief of staff, praised the fact that the readiness of the Army to defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Slovak Republic was maintained despite the shortage of material and financial resources.

In his speech, Michal Kovac particularly emphasized that all changes in the Army have a well-thought-out, long-term strategy respecting the economic potential of the country.

Defense Minister Pavol Kanis described as essential for the coming exercise year the continuation of the first stage of the transformation of the Army and development of a modern system of management and command within both the headquarters and sections of the Slovak Army.

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Goncz, Horn Schedule Talks With Clinton, Yeltsin

LD2211221294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At the beginning of December President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Gyula Horn will conduct separate discussions with some of the prime ministers and presidents who will be arriving in Budapest. Foreign Ministry spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi has given a briefing about the diplomatic schedule in connection with the CSCE revision conference. Istvan Kulcsar reports.

[Kulcsar] On 5 December, the Hungarian leaders will meet U.S. President Bill Clinton during his visit, which will only take a few hours. Agreement had been made about separate talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin too, the spokesman said.

He also said that at the Budapest CSCE summit the leaders of Russia, Britain, and the United States would sign an aide-memoire, giving security guarantees to Ukraine, which has joined the Nonproliferation Treaty.

It transpired at today's press briefing that Hungarian Ambassador to Bratislava Jeno Boros met Vladimir Meciar last week. Meciar told him that if he formed a government he would work for a comprehensive improvement in Slovak-Hungarian relations.

The issue of the basic treaty slightly progressed at the recent Hungarian-Romanian expert talks, said Gabor Szentivanyi. He added:

[Begin Szentivanyi recording] We should discuss a tremendous amount of coordination tasks and the settlement of a number of political issues. However, we feel that compared to the previous situation where we were deadlocked, these talks allow some guarded optimism. [end recording]

Defense Minister Assesses Visit to Romania

AU2211135594 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Nov 94 p 9

[Interview with Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by Ferenc Kepecs, on board airplane carrying the delegation home from Bucharest on 20 November: "We Are Not Chained Together"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Keleti] I would say that during the three days in which we held not only military discussions have been quite important for two reasons. On the one hand, we learned that the Romanians show a high degree of readiness to accept our proposals. On the other hand, we had the opportunity also to hold negotiations with Romanian political leaders, and not formal discussions exclusively. For example, I told President Iliescu that the Romanian side should be more flexible on the matter of the bilateral treaty, because at the time we signed the Open Skies Agreement—a model treaty for all of Europe. I do not see any obstacles to making the basic treaty articles dealing with national minorities models as well.

[Kepecs] Are the Romanians prepared for this?

[Keleti] I felt a certain change in the Romanian position, particularly in the case of Defense Minister Tinca. I very much appreciate the fact that most of our military program took place in areas with an ethnic Hungarian majority, as well as the fact that, in the course of our visit, the Romanians gave us the opportunity to talk to the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] and meet with Andras Suto [ethnic Hungarian writer]. This shows that the Romanians understand our demand to improve the national minorities situation in Romania.

[Kepecs] What agreements have you concluded, and for how long?

[Keleti] Regarding these agreements, we must to some extent look at the longer term. Both Hungary and Romania would like to join NATO, but we know that that will take years. We agreed on certain actions in the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. But, independent of these actions, and again in the spirit of the Partnership for Peace, we will create forms of cooperation that directly affect relations between our two countries. I think this is important because I am convinced that NATO does not want to accept new members that do not trust each other militarily.

[Kepecs] What concrete forms of cooperation will we work out?

[Keleti] We agreed on the training of Hungarian soldiers in Romania and of Romanian soldiers in Hungary. This was still unimaginable a few years ago, just as Bucharest's proposal to allow Hungarian combat aircraft to exercise in Romanian exercise air space by flying through Romanian airspace. This has both military and political aspects. Moreover, we came to a concrete agreement on a possible coordinated reduction of military personnel in the near future.

[Kepecs] Do you agree with the Romanian position that, regarding NATO membership, the two countries are dependent on each other and should become members simultaneously?

[Keleti] In my opinion, we are not chained together in this respect. We need cooperation in NATO matters, but we do not want to head for NATO membership holding hands. I expressed this opinion to every Romanian leader I met.

[Kepecs] Will the cooperation needed in NATO matters and improvement in interstate relations lead to a situation in which the two countries somehow exclude the RMDSZ?

[Keleti] This is not a real problem. The Hungarian Government declared that it would consult the RMDSZ

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in the framework of the basic treaty because, to a certain extent, this treaty deals with ethnic Hungarians in Romania and, therefore, cannot be formulated without them.

[Kepecs] What do you think about the steady increase in the number of Romanian armed forces stationed in the Szeklerland?

[Keleti] I do not know how many troops are stationed there, but I think that, according to the modern security policy concept, the Romanian Army must also take into consideration the security policy views of the ethnic Hungarian citizens of Romania.

Officials Claim Romania Endangering Security

AU2211160894 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 19 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with former Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky and Matyas Eorsi, chairman of the National Assembly Foreign Affairs Committee, by Laszlo Daroczi; place and date not given: "Europe Has To Be Warned—Geza Jeszenszky and Matyas Eorsi on the Romanian Law on National Anthems"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In the recent period, we have been receiving news from Bucharest about several laws or almost passed bills—a ban on national anthems and ideas on policing foreigners—which strongly question the seriousness of the Romanian Government's intentions regarding its conciliation policy with Hungary, and they also create a major dilemma for the new government in Budapest, whose gestures might easily prove to be futile. We interviewed former Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and Matyas Eorsi, chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee and member of the Alliance of Free Democrats, on this issue.

[Daroczi] What are your views on the emerging situation now that you are in opposition?

[Jeszenszky] [passage omitted] This plan, which seems to have been passed as law in Romania—and in which certain Slovak forces that might even come to power are already showing an interest—would deeply hurt the national minorities living there, and it is unique in international practice. [passage omitted] This measure is a provocation and the government must protest it.

[Daroczi] What concrete reaction does the opposition expect from the foreign affairs team?

[Jeszenszky] I must say that I do not envy the new government because I was certain that it would not have any easier a time with some of our neighbors than we had. This has been confirmed. Therefore, in my view, the government definitely has to raise this issue at the highest level. It is completely unrealistic in the meantime to negotiate on the agreement or perhaps to sign it if this measure is taken against the Hungarian minority. Many ways of protest exist. The diplomacy of smiles is often very contrary to deeds. It is hypocritical to talk about friendship or conciliation if the other side, in addition to being unwilling to take the very pressing improvement measures, commits new and serious legal violations. This tendency raises the issue of European responsibility.

[Daroczi] At a parliamentary level, is Budapest preparing to react in some way to the Romanian legislature's decisions, which are difficult to call European?

[Eorsi] We view these events with great concern. At the same time, it also has to be seen that Hungarian diplomacy has extremely little chance of achieving any change in this area. It is not our job to raise the banner on these issues because if we are the ones who, of all the people affected by the Romanian decision, act most forcefully against this decision, then this will give the impression to our Western European partners that this is solely a Hungarian-Romanian problem. Our task is to convince the world that this is a security policy problem, rather than a simple Hungarian problem. If these types of nationalist laws are passed in certain countries, laws that ignore the legitimate rights of national minorities, then this can endanger the security of whole Europe, which is in the interest of neither Hungary nor the continent as a whole. Therefore, we have to find allies among our Western partners who—not treating the issue as a purely Hungarian problem—can successfully exert pressure on Romania to reverse the decision and possibly to follow a truly moderate policy in the future that takes the legitimate interests of the national minorities into consideration.

[Daroczi] Will we find such an ally?

[Eorsi] Of course.

Cyrillic Writing Reported on Uranium Container

LD2211122994 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The largest ever seizure of uranium in Budapest: Peter Laszlo telephoned the isotope research institute in the wake of the report in KURIR, to inquire about the details. He spoke with Tamas Agonyi, research-worker at the institute.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] When did you find this material?

[Agonyi] On 10 November, I believe. We have a 47 kg device here.

[Laszlo] And what is in it?

[Agonyi] That is where the problem begins. There is nuclear material in it. The correct investigation can be carried out if we open up the device, if we extract a sample of the material, and if we analyze it with special instruments. The composition of fissile materials is not an issue to be disregarded.

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The reason we are not opening the device is not because we are physically unable to do so but because we cannot do so professionally.

[Laszlo] What are you doing, then?

[Agonyi] We will obviously need a military expert to provide us with the necessary technical assistance. [passage omitted]

[Laszlo] Have you seen it?

[Agonyi] Yes I have.

[Laszlo] What writing is on it?

[Agonyi] There is writing in cyrillic letters—something like Open and Close. That is roughly what I remember. We did not attribute great importance to it because we tried to move the pegs to no avail. So this is a special structure. We are familiar with it because it is used in the technical sphere; but this is another category.

[Laszlo] You say you will need a military expert. Does this mean that the material comes from a sort of military establishment, or perhaps a nuclear submarine, as suggested by KURIR?

[Agonyi] Anything is possible, but we do not know anything concrete. The task of our institute is to establish correctly the contents of the nuclear material, qualitatively and quantitatively.

[Laszlo] Have you taken special security measures?

[Agonyi] It is in a very, very secure place here, in a special garage, a storeroom closed with a security lock, and we naturally are guarding the key very carefully; not to mention the fact that the whole area is guarded by professional policemen.

[Laszlo] When can further investigations and results be expected?

[Agonyi] That depends solely on the collaboration and effectiveness of the police. [end recording]

Central Bank Chairman Announces Resignation

LD2211171794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Peter Akos Bod has announced that he will leave the leadership of the Central Bank. The chairman of the Central Bank decided this because many conflicts of a political nature had disrupted his everyday work. Peter Akos Bod met Prime Minister Gyula Horn today, and they agreed that he would submit his resignation tomorrow. Peter Akos Bod will leave his position in three weeks, leaving time for the selection of his successor.

Chairman Explains Decision

LD2211192694 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Peter Akos Bod, chairman of the Hungarian National Bank [MNB], is to leave his post because of the political attacks aimed at him. This was announced at a news briefing this afternoon after his meeting with Prime Minister Gyula Horn in the morning. Kata Peli Nagy represented our editorial. [passage omitted]

[Peli] Bod found that many times those not accustomed to the democratic way of thinking alleged political motives behind his criticism.

[Begin Bod recording] It is very difficult to represent a stance if political motives are permanently alleged to be behind it. Let me mention an example: The bank considers the budget deficit too large. However, earlier, when I said things of this kind to Ivan Szabo [former minister of finance in the Boross government], there was no such political interpretation as the one that is possible now.

A former MNB head said at an international conference that what an arrangement it is that under a left-wing government a man with a different political view directed the bank. Naturally, these arguments make one's life more difficult. These arguments also contributed to some extent to the conclusion I arrived at—that I am not able to serve the bank's smooth operation any more. [passage omitted] [end recording]

KDNP's Alleged Aspiration for Coalition Role

LD2211214494 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] Laszlo Surjan, chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], has denied the suspicion raised by Ivan Petoe, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], according to which he had urged the resignation of Gabor Fodor, minister of culture and education, because the Christian Democrats would like to take the place of the SZDSZ in the government coalition. Surjan said that this kind of cooperation can only be taken into consideration on a longer term. The leaders of the two coalition parties have said that, in spite of differences in their views, the termination of the coalition is out of the question.

[Correspondent] According to the SZDSZ chairman, certain circles within the KDNP hold the view that the KDNP should aspire for the culture portfolio.

[Surjan] "There is a strong group within the KDNP that aspires for this post, but it does not mean that this will be achieved. I do not think that the idea that the KDNP and the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] would like to form a coalition can be taken seriously."

[Correspondent] The Christian Democrats demanded Gabor Fodor's resignation, because they are of the view that a minister has to be responsible for its portfolio in any circumstances. According to Laszlo Surjan, it is also

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conceivable that the minister of culture and education will not be selected from the ranks of the SZDSZ.

[Surjan] "A person from the MSZP, or who is not a member of any party can also be a minister, I think this is the customary arrangement.

[Correspondent] "Can you imagine the arrangement that is applied, for example, in the Ministry of Defense, that is, the way the state secretary was appointed there in the person of Istvan Fodor?

[Surjan] "If you mean, whether the Christian Democratic People's Party would like to advance in this field too, I was not thinking of this. I do not have any authorization, but [words indistinct] Ferenc Glatz would be a much more outstanding minister than the present one."

[Announcer] According to the KDNP chairman, there is no question of rapprochement between the MSZP and the KDNP for the time being. It can only be dependent on a future election.

[Correspondent] Gyula Hegyi from the MSZP can also imagine the two parties' cooperation only on the long-term.

[Hegyi] "In my view, a Socialist-Christian Democratic coalition is conceivable in Hungary around the time of the next elections."

[Correspondent] According to the Socialist deputy, the situation will be different if the SZDSZ changes its mind and leaves the coalition.

[Hegyi] "In that case the MSZP, working from the principle that it does not want a one-party government and would like to enjoy a wider social support, will perhaps try to find another party, and of the four opposition parties, probably, in my view, the KDNP will be the most suitable for this role."

[Correspondent] However, according to Imre Szekeres, the MSZP's parliamentary deputy group leader, the Socialists are not considering changing their partner.

[Szekeres] "I do not see any reason for a government and coalition crisis of any form."

[Correspondent] However, he admits that there is a tension within the coalition but, in his view, this is natural. [passage omitted]

Party Leaders Discusss Issues at News Conference

AU2211160994 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Nov 94 pp 1, 4

[Correspondent's report: "Tough Debates at Coalition Coordination"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Coalition Coordination Council held a meeting on 21 November involving Prime Minister Gyula Horn; Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]; SZDSZ Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze; Balint Magyar, executive deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]; and Imre Szekeres, head of the parliamentary group of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. At the news conference after the meeting, Imre Szekeres told reporters that the body had discussed several subjects. The report of the prime minister on the prevailing economic situation shows a gloomier picture than expected, and this year's budget deficit will be larger than planned. As long as final data is not available, parliament will discuss the government's 1995 budget bill. If the deputies receive a final picture on the expected changes, they will submit modification proposals to the budget bill. All sides expressed their continued hope that parliament will pass the 1995 budget by 27 December 1994, and the new facts can be integrated in the bill through the modification proposals.

At the meeting, the MSZP criticized SZDSZ politicians for their recent comments on the internal affairs of the MSZP. Imre Szekeres said that every controversial issue should be clarified in time, but certain internal party affairs do not belong here. The Socialists do not want to hinder the activity of their coalition partners, but they expect them to refrain from evaluating one another. The Socialists also complained about signs of one-sidedness in programs of Hungarian television. Imre Szekeres pointed out that, on matters that affect the government, the television news programs do not obtain the opinion of the other side. Efforts should be made to achieve equality and balance in the news programs of the Hungarian Television, Szekeres said.

The Coalition Coordination Council also discussed the situation that has emerged in the wake of Gyorgy Janosi's, Cultural Ministry state secretary, resignation. Imre Szekeres said that, before deciding whether to accept the resignation, Prime Minister Gyula Horn would like to learn the causes and problems in detail, problems described by Janosi in his resignation letter to Gyula Horn. The prime minister will make a decision only after learning all the details.

The meeting also dealt with the government treatment of youth affairs. Imre Szekeres mentioned that, at his meeting with youth organizations, the prime minister promised that the government would set up a coordination council to deal with the entire issue, but its jurisdiction has still to be clarified.

At the meeting, SZDSZ Chairman Ivan Peto pointed out that the Coalition Coordination Council discussed more issues than usual. Reacting to the Socialsts' complaints, he said that he did not regard as customary Parliamentary Speaker Zoltan Gal's recent criticism of the MDF. Peto admitted that the body only agreed on the need to pass the 1995 budget this year and on Hungary's extremely bad economic situation. At the same time, the SZDSZ rejected the Socialists' position on the subjects

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that can be debated in public. Ivan Peto pointed out that the SZDSZ only reacts to MSZP accusations. Ivan Peto also said that the prime minister had promised to show him the criticized statements in detail. Gyula Horn called Ivan Peto's recent interview in NEPSZABADSAG interference in the internal life of the MSZP. Ivan Peto also mentioned that some opposition deputies share identical views on the privatization bill with the left-wing MSZP legislators.

Ivan Peto also pointed out that the SZDSZ does not agree with the Socialists' views of the programs of Hungarian television. If the government starts voicing this criticism, it will take the same road as that taken by the Antall cabinet, because one should not blame the mirror. [sentence as published] In connection with Gyorgy Janosi's resignation, Ivan Peto said that the SZDSZ interprets this resignation as Janosi's acceptance of responsibility for the prime minister's misinformation. At the same time, the SZDSZ thinks that, if there is any possibility, the prime minister should not accept Janosi's resignation, because it is not justified. Ivan Peto also announced that the two party chairmen, as well as Cultural Minister Gabor Fodor and Gyorgy Janosi, will discuss the situation together, and the prime minister will only decide on whether to accept the resignation after this discussion.

In connection with the government's treatment of youth affairs, Ivan Peto said that the starting principle was to create a cheaper government and reduce the number of ministers without portfolio and state secretaries. The SZDSZ cannot accept the form proposed by the prime minister. One should not decide unilaterally on such an issue; instead, one should coordinate steps with the ministry in question and with the coalition partner. At the same time, Peto also pointed out that the government treatment of the youth issue should not give cause for tension within the coalition.

Reacting to Ivan Peto's words, Imre Szekeres said they did not propose to interfere in the internal affairs of Hungarian television; they only presented their observations, including that they do not think it is fortuitous during an election campaign for Budapest Mayor Gabor Demszky to appear on Hungarian television more frequently than is necessary. Peto reacted to this by saying that those who are currently occupying some positions are obviously in a more advantageous situation than other candidates.

Szekeres firmly denied rumors that the meeting also discussed the possible dismissal of Cultural Minister Gabor Fodor. He also pointed out that they did not even consider the possibility of discussing any personnel issues of Hungarian television and radio. Such issues can only be discussed after the passing of the media law and in its spirit. Peto pointed out that only competition can create the conditions of objective information in the electronic media.

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Olechowski Rules Out Expelling Krakow Diplomat

LD2211175694 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1735 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 22 Nov—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sees no basis for the expulsion from Poland of Borys Shardakov, the deputy consul of the Russian Federation in Krakow. "We treat the matter of the statements by Shardakov on 7 November as a mere incident," Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Olechowski said today at a meeting of the Sejm Commission for Contacts with Poles Abroad.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sees no obstacles to Shardakov's staying on in Poland as a diplomat. Nonetheless, according to Olechowski, the deputy consul "has lost his ability to effectively carry out his tasks in Krakow." This judgement was passed on to the Russian side.

"A decision on the expulsion of a diplomat is a very serious step in relations with all countries, and a drastic one in relations with neighbors. This is, as a rule, the consequence of a transgression of the law or of systematic activity to the economic detriment of the host country," said Olechowski, adding that "we see the Krakow event as an incident, and we see no reason to give this an importance greater than the importance given to an instance of emotional behavior that reveals personal views—in this case, ones not favorable to Poles."

This incident was not an expression of official policy or a component of a program of systematic activity, the minister stressed.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Shardakov ought not to remain in Krakow. "It does not seem to us that he could serve Polish-Russian relations in this city well," Olechowski said, adding that this judgment was passed on to the Russian Foreign Ministry, with "the suggestion that decisions are required that will restore credibility to the consulate in Krakow." The Polish Foreign Ministry is waiting for a reply.

"Polish-Russian relations are undergoing a severe trial. They are an area of emotional, often hurtful, and spiteful judgments and activities," said Olechowski, appealing to politicians and the mass media for "calm, reflection, and sympathetic consideration," and thanking the Confederation for an Independent Poland for withdrawing a deputy's written question on this matter.

Polls on NATO, Partnership for Peace

95P20135A

[FBIS Editorial Report] Results of public opinion polls on integration with Western defense and security institutions indicate an increase of support for them, according to an article published in Warsaw PRZEGLAD RZADOWY in Polish in September on pages 41 and 42. In June 1993, only half of the researched group viewed Poland's participation in NATO military structures favorably, but a year later, support was at 75 percent. The results of the public poll conducted in July 1994 by the Center for Public Opinion Research were published in the Bulletin of the Bureau of Press and Information in the Ministry of National Defense.

Polish society was seen as showing an increased interest in the "idea of a joint defense policy" integrating Poland with the West.

In June 1993, 57 percent of those polled supported "increased efforts" for acceptance of Poland into NATO, while, in June 1994, 61 percent shared this opinion. At the same time, 4-percent growth was noted among those favoring "Poland's neutrality," from 14 percent in 1993 to 18 percent in 1994. The number of those "without opinion" among respondents dropped from 19 to 15 percent.

Researchers distinguished two groups of people in their polling: those who see and fear an external threat to Poland, and those who do not see such a danger. Among those who do see an external threat, 78 percent favored admission into NATO, and 10 percent are against it. The percentage of those who do not see such a threat but still support admission to NATO is 77 percent, with 11 percent decidely opposing entry into NATO. Hence, there is no discernable difference. In both cases, "no opinion" was expressed by 12 percent of those polled.

These results, according to the commentary, are "astounding," especialy in the group that "does not at present see a danger to Poland's security" because society's disposition "to the credibility of the Western declarations of assistance" is smaller than one would expect, given such "overwhelming support" for admission of Poland into NATO.

The degree of trust by Poles in European and U.S. institutions was reflected by the answer to the question, "Could Poland count on help from the West?" A steady increase was noted: 29 percent in November 1993, 32 percent in January 1994, and 40 percent in June 1994. The number of skeptics in this matter dropped only 2 percent, and those with "no opinion" dropped by 9 percent, from 24 percent in 1993 to 15 percent in June 1994.

The views of respondents that measure the credibility of the West in the context of the Partnership for Peace [PFP] initiative are interesting. Despite the fact that the PFP was evaluated as a step to "speed entry into NATO" (33 percent in January 1994 and 46 percent in June 1994), many respondents had simultaneously expressed apprehension toward a NATO-Russia agreement "behind Poland's back," seeing the PFP as "a manifestation of a lack of consistency" on the part of the West in "treating our initiative for admission to NATO." In January, as many as 52 percent of those polled expressed such an opinion, and in June it increased to 59 percent.

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At the same time, the June polling noted that, in the group of people who expressed trust in the West, 63 percent viewed the PFP as a "method for integration into NATO," while 7 percent disagreed and 18 percent expressed no opinion. In the group of skeptical views toward the West, the PFP initiative was supported by 36 percent, with 30 percen' against and 15 percent undecided.

Among those who see a lack of consistency in the West's handling of Polish efforts to get into NATO, the PFP initiative was viewed as "a chance to enter NATO" by 47 percent, versus 9 percent who did not see this as much of a chance. Those expressing no opinion were numbered at 19 percent.

Poles express, with reservation, apprehension about imperial tendencies in Russian foreign policy.

This does not, however, have much of an influence on the views of those who favor Poland's alliance with NATO. In response to the question of whether Russia will rebuild its empire, among those who acknowledge this as a threat, 78 percent consist of people who support Polish admission to NATO, 12 percent (those who see Russia as a threat) do not support Polish admission to NATO, and 10 percent have no opinion.

To contrast this with a group of people who do not see Russia as a potential foe, again, the majority, 79 percent, support Polish entry into NATO; a relatively small number, 9 percent, oppose entry; and 12 percent are undecided.

Poles would eagerly accept such a balanced arrangement in Europe, which would be based on possibly wide participation of countries from the European Continent in NATO. They express the opinion that expansion of the Pact by countries from the former socialist bloc would contribute to "the increase of stabilization in Europe" (70 percent in June 1994, 69 percent in January 1994).

The group that sees expansion of NATO as a destabilizing act, increasing tension in Europe, is a decided minority of 9 percent in June 1994, compared to 16 percent in January 1994.

Taking these results into consideration, as well as the "commonsense" attitude of Poles on the subject of the present possibilities of Poland's getting into NATO, Polish society proclaims itself, although not without some reservations, as in favor of the Partnership for Peace program, considering it "the most effective method of military integration into the West" available today. In response to the question of whether the U.S. proposition gives Poland a realistic chance of entering NATO, in January of this year 33 percent of respondents agreed, while in June of 1994 the number had increased to 46 percent. The opposite point of view was expressed by 27 percent of the respondents in January 1994, and this number had decreased to 14 percent by June 1994. Undecided were, respecitvely, 20 percent and 18 percent. It is worth noting that there exists a large group of those polled who know nothing about this subject.

Taking into account the "overwhelming" support for the very idea of unification with NATO in various groups thus far polled, it is worth noting, however, that, despite there being a clear cautionary attitude toward declarations of aid from the West, there nonetheless appears a clear, societal need and support for the attempts of Polish authorities toward this integration. One must assume that, in the future, this support wil only increase, as long as there does not occur on the part of the Western partners discouraging moves—for example, conditioning Polish access to NATO to the Russian stand regarding this matter.

The public polling agency Demoskop recently conducted research on social acceptance and expectations concerning our country's entry into NATO. The majority of those polled are of the opinion that we will become NATO members: 12 percent think we will join "in the near future" and 40 percent in "several years." One-fourth of the respondents think Poland will wait "many years" before entering NATO. Only 7 percent maintain that Poland will never be in NATO.

A definite majority (71 percent) of those polled think that Poland should, above all, strive for membership in NATO, and only 9 percent are of the opinion that it should, rather, seek an alliance with Russia or other East European countries.

Daily Reports Zairean Envoy Homeless in Warsaw

LD2211233394 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2300 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The ambassador of Zaire to Poland turned out to be one of the homeless people living at Warsaw Central railway station. Today's edition of the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA reports that the ambassador of this Central African state works in the embassy during the day but moves to Warsaw Central station at night. A reason for this life-style is serious financial problems, which the Zairian diplomatic agency has in our country. This fact was revealed when the ambassador was robbed.

SLD Chairman Opposes Figurehead Presidency

LD2211144894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for Polish Radio, Aleksander Kwasniewski [Democratic Left Alliance, SLD, chairman] has confirmed his opinion that the president's duties cannot be restricted to those of a figurehead because he is elected directly by the entire nation.

Kwasniewski said his widely reported remarks last Sunday to representatives of the Warsaw organization of

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the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic about the need for a stronger presidency were an expression of his views as chairman of the parliamentary Constitutional Commission and not as a candidate for president.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] As far as my task is concerned, this is first and foremost the task of chairman of the Constitutional Commission. I have seven drafts, and it is our duty to prepare just one. To have any ideas formally accepted, you have to have a two-thirds' majority. Let me recall that the SLD has one-third of the votes, so you have to look for allies. These allies must also be outside the current government coalition because it does not have two-thirds of the vote, either. So, in this sense, necessity for compromise is doubtless. Hence, you have to look for partners. My statement, therefore, is an offer to seek that kind of compromise between the different bodies that submitted their drafts.

And I also have something else important to say. I think we do not discuss this issue enough. A certain issue was decided in the 1990 elections—namely, the one that the president is elected directly and that he is the head of state who exerts a certain influence on the key area of politics. I mean here foreign policy, internal security policy, and defense. Therefore, this would not change today's condition, although, undoubtedly, it would have to be written in a much more precise manner.

And my final remark. I believe that, if presidents in Poland were to be mere figureheads, the whole great campaign that has been going on in Poland for the past year about who is to be president, the presidential campaign, all those grievances, arguments, and aggression caused by this campaign would simply not make any sense because why should we argue so much if we are to have a person whose main job would be opening kindergartens and schools and who could only speak very formally as the head of state in contacts with others? It would just not make any sense. [end recording]

Poll on Trust in Politicians, Presidential Chances

WS2211155394 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Nov 94 p 3

[Article by "knysz": "You Cannot Have Everything"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Even a very popular politician need not necessarily be enthusiastically welcomed as a presidential candidate. This banal truth is confirmed by the latest poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS].*

The politician Poles adore most is Jacek Kuron, for many years the most trusted public figure (with a break between September 1993 and January of this year, when politicians from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] began making it to the top of popularity lists).

Today, 75 percent of respondents trust Kuron, giving him 12 percent more supporters than Waldemar Pawlak and 18 percent more than Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Meanwhile, Kuron does not fare so well in presidential polls carried out by CBOS for GAZETA. In a hypothetical second round of elections to the Belweder, he would be outrun by Andrzej Olechowski (45 percent versus 22 percent), Kwasniewski (39 percent versus 29 percent), and Pawlak (38 percent versus 28 percent). He would beat only Lech Walesa (36 percent versus 20 percent).

Olechowski alone stands a chance of winning against all four rivals, although he does not enjoy the same level of trust as Kuron, Pawlak, and Kwasniewski. The head of Polish diplomacy may boast the lowest level of distrust—8 percent (by comparison, Pawlak is distrusted by 18 percent of those polled, Kwasniewski by 15 percent).

The results of the polls do not allow the formulation of a reverse theory—that the lower the trust in a politician, the better he does in presidential polls. Walesa's example is a contradiction. The president is in a distant 20th place on the list of most-trusted politicians (he is trusted by 30 percent of respondents) and opens the list of least-trusted politicians (51 percent, directly behind Jaroslaw Kaczynski, head of Center Accord, with 45 percent). At the same time, Walesa has weak, at least for now, chances of being reelected.

The CBOS poll points to another pattern: A politician need not necessarily be loved by his own party.

Kuron has many supporters also outside the Freedom Union [UW], in the SLD, a party in opposition to his own. He is trusted by 69 percent of the SLD constituency, slightly less than that party's leaders: Kwasniewski—79 percent; Jozef Oleksy—71 percent; Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz—70 percent.

Among supporters of the Union of Labor [UP], Kuron is more popular than that party's leader, Ryszard Bugaj. Kuron is trusted by 85 percent of the UP constituency, Bugaj by 55 percent. UP voters even trust Pawlak and Kwasniewski (77 percent each) more than their own leader.

Kuron is also trusted by the extraparliamentarian right (79 percent). He is ahead of Wieslaw Chrzanowski (51 percent) and Jaroslaw Kaczynski (33 percent).

The situation is quite different in the PSL constituency. Here there is only one leader, Pawlak, who has the trust of 87 percent. The prime minister is well ahead of his colleagues from the government: Deputy Prime Minister Aleksander Luczak of the PSL has the trust of a mere 29 percent of supporters of the peasant party, and Michal Strak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, 23 percent.

The poll was carried out between 14 October and 7 November on a random, representative sample of 2,128 adult Poles.

Sejm To Debate Law on Special Services

WS2311092294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Nov 94 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Jachowicz and Katarzyna Kesicka: "Secret Services To Be Controlled"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Sejm deputies want to control the finances and secret operations of the intelligence and counterintelligence services. "Today there is no one who assigns tasks to the special services. Therefore, there is chaos in their work," says Krzysztof Kozlowski, former head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW].

At one of its next sessions, the Sejm will debate the bill of the resolution on appointing and the powers of a special committee for special services affairs, which has been prepared by the Sejm Internal Affairs Committee. The task of this special committee would be control over the finances and legality of the operations carried out by the intelligence and counterintelligence services of the Office of State Protection [UOP] and the Military Information Services [WSI].

Deputies Will Check

The bill empowers the committee to look into the operational activities of the special services as well as their budget. "If the bill is accepted, we will check whether operational technology such as bugging devices has been used legally," says Jerzy Dziewulski of the Democratic Left Alliance, author of the bill. Right now, permission to install bugging devices is granted by the MSW head and prosecutor general if there is serious suspicion that a crime or a serious offense jeopardizing the state's security has been committed.

The committee will also be able to control covert employees of the special services (for example, a bank director who is at the same time an intelligence officer), and it will be allowed to control companies set up by the intelligence and counterintelligence services, in which the usual economic activity is camouflage for clandestine operations, of which only some of the given company's employees are aware.

Candidates for members of the special committee are to be appointed by the chairpersons of parliamentary clubs. The bill envisions two options. In line with the first option, no more than five members are to be appointed by the Presidium of the Sejm. In line with the other, the number of members is determined by the entire Sejm. However, they are elected by the Presidium as well.

Secret Forever

Every member of the special committee is to commit himself in writing that he will keep in strictest secrecy all issues about which he learns during the course of the committee's work. All of its sessions will be secret. The Sejm speaker or deputy speakers may take part in them, but they do not have the right to vote. If the chairman of the committee wants to invite other people to the session, he will have to obtain permission from the heads of the National Defense Ministry [MON] and the MSW.

The protocols of the committee's sessions will also be kept secret. The committee will be allowed to issue communiques to the press only after consultations with the MSW and MON. The committee's sessions will be held in one particular room, which will be specially prepared and protected—for example, against burglars and bugging devices. Its documents will also be hidden in special safes, and each time one of the safes is opened, a protocol will have to be drawn up. The members of the committee will not be entitled to bodyguards. "Every member of the committee will be there at his own risk," Dziewulski says.

The bill envisions that, in exceptional cases, the special committee may turn into an investigative committee. It will then ask the Presidium of the Sejm to allow it to interrogate the functionaries of the special services or civilians as is done by prosecutors in regular criminal proceedings.

Controlling Afterward

According to Freedom Union Senator Krzysztof Kozlowski, former minister of internal affairs, special services tend to get away from civilian control. Therefore, they should be supervised by a special parliamentary committee. However, its powers should not allow it to control ongoing, specific operations; their details must be kept secret. If the committee attempted to find out about the details of planned or ongoing operations, it would either block the services' activities, or UOP and the WSI would begin to deceive it; plans of some operations would be concealed from the committee. The same goes for the list of secret employees and details of the operational budget.

The committee should verify the efficiency and results of operational activities. Its fundamental goal should be the allotment of tasks to intelligence and counterintelligence services: in which countries we are interested, what information our country wants to obtain there, what the dangers are against which the counterintelligence services should protect us over the next few years. "Today such tasks are not given to our services by either the prime minister, parliament, or the president. This is why there is a lot of chaos in their work," Kozlowski says.

Kozlowski's opinion is confirmed by a high-ranking officer of the civilian intelligence services, who asked to remain anonymous. "The atmosphere within UOP has been very bad for at least a year. Many negative phenomena would not have occurred if our leadership had known that there was a whip over it that was held by people in authority," our informer says.

National Defense Budget Bill Discussed

WS2211144594 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 18-20 Nov 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Ryszard Choroszy: "The Art of Patching"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The needs of the Army have not been satisfied for several years: Real outlays are decreasing, the technological level of arms is falling, reserves are being used up. The situation is not going to improve next year. National defense expenses are not*

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going to rise proportionally to the projected growth of the national product. They are to be maintained at the 1994 level. There may not even be enough means to implement Partnership for Peace.

Next year's expenditures from the budget of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] are to be 58.6 trillion zlotys [Z] (2.2 percent of the GDP). Of that amount, Z11 trillion will have to be allocated for military pensions. Z3.5 trillion was designated to so-called target reserves for pay raises for professional soldiers and Army employees (approximately 27 percent) and (in addition) half of that amount for valorization of benefits.

Partnership Can Wait?

At the last government session, before the budget bill was passed, Z100 billion was slated for the implementation of Partnership for Peace, whereas real needs were evaluated at Z600 billion. The money is needed for, among other things, joint maneuvers, establishing communications missions within NATO structures, creating new military units, implementing training and education programs, and adapting the military infrastructure to NATO standards.

The Finance Department at MON estimates that total expenditures for national defense (Z64 trillion) will actually be slightly higher than in 1994, primarily because of pay raises. Material expenses will decrease by 1 percent. More privileged are social welfare, health care, culture and arts, and higher education, which will obtain much more than the projected inflation rate (22.7 percent).

More than half of the expenses in the MON budget are to cover the costs of maintaining professional soldiers and Army employees, including food, uniforms, and health services. The dominat part is salaries for nearly 94,000 professional soldiers, 150,000 enlisted men, and approximately 84,000 Army employees.

The average cost of maintaining one professional soldier is estimated at Z200 million annually—in regular service, four times less.

Shorter Service Costs

A professional Army is expensive. Shortening the term of military service from one and one-half years to one year requires increasing additional recruitment of soldiers, especially for expert posts in operational technology. The expected structural changes, however, require additional money for salaries in the amount of Z600 billion, which the MON budget does not provide for.

For the first time, staff expenses do not account for accommodation, which, according to NATO requirements, was included in administrative costs of buildings (Z5.4 trillion) or widely understood services (Z2.6 trillion), including telecommunications, business travel, and remuneration for unjustly repressed people [niesluszne represjonowani] (Z180 billion). In the costs of current property maintenance, two-thirds of the expenses are municipal costs, and the rest of the money was allocated to renovation and equivalents of renovation and conservation benefits.

It is estimated that means allocated for general renovations will satisfy merely one-fourth of the needs, including ten-odd Army unit buildings with kitchens, as well as several housing and administrative buildings and hospitals.

Necessary Reforms

The undertakings provide for changes in the functioning of the housing economy and the restructuring of the health-care system, and reducing the number of military periodicals and publishing facilities.

Once the parliament passes a bill on accommodation in the Armed Forces, several Garrison Housing Administrations and Military Housing Administrations will be subject to the Military Housing Agency. Selling will bring profits. Changes within the military health-care system will lead to a decrease in the number of hospital beds by 1,500 in six medical battalions and five hospitals (in Torun, Grudziadz, Hel, Deblin, and Gliwice), and to the integration of outpatient health care in garrisons.

Army expenses, far from actual needs, are reflected in combat and mobilization alertness. Means at this year's level do not allow for developing training for soldiers in the reserve. The issue of recruiting university graduates will come up once again. The gradual recovery of warfare and material resources will have to be postponed for several years, especially those that meet the requirements necessary to implement operational tasks.

In other words, the Army is using up its supplies, which poses a threat that the number of maneuvers will have to be decreased and the level of Army education lowered.

What Will the Army Buy?

Nearly Z6.6 trillion was allocated for the maintenance of technological equipment in 1995, 88 percent of which will be domestic purchases. More than half of the resources will be spent on renovation and the conservation of arms, and for purchases of engine fuels and oil.

MON estimates that more than half of the arms and equipment have been used beyond exploitation levels. This will cause a majority of the technical equipment to be thrown away in the years 1996-2000 because it will no longer qualify for renovation. Next year, according to provisions of a treaty Poland signed on limiting conventional arms, 380 tanks and 270 pieces of artillery equipment will be withdrawn.

The indicator of modernness in the Polish Army is at a level of 5-25 percent, whereas, in the West, it is 30-50 percent or even more. The situation will not improve because of next year's orders, projected at Z4.1 trillion. This amount is in fact 2 percent higher than in 1994. It will at most allow for the purchase of three combat training Iryda planes, 15 Orlik planes, seven Sokol

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helicopters, 20 PT-91 tanks, 30 Grom rocket launchers, one rocket ship, and 18 imported Carl Gustav antitank grenade launchers.

Expenses Inspected

Means allocated for scientific research will be small, not even making up 1 percent of the total expenditures in 1995. In Germany, these costs are one-twentieth of the Bundeswehr budget, in Spain 3.5 percent. The sum set aside at MON will allow for implementing 71 scientific research projects strictly related to the military, while a further 44 will be financed by the Scientific Research Committee.

Real expenses on investments will not fall for the first time in several years and are projected at Z931 billion. This will allow for securing accommodations for 1,000 soldiers, upgrading two hospitals and one sanatorium, modernizing four airfields, and improving several other special objects.

The new method of classifying budget expenses, adapted to NATO requirements, shows expenses separately for each particular type of service.

The cost of maintaining the Ground Forces is nearly Z20 trillion, the Air and Air Defense Force Z11.5 trillion, and the Navy about Z3 trillion. Central administration, command, and security will cost Z8.3 trillion.

Almost twice as much was allocated to tasks not directly related to the functioning of the Armed Forces. Two-thirds are military pensions.

The MON budget for next year shows that the expenses for national defense are decreasing. This does not allow for quick technological modernization of the Army or for speedy completion of projected structural and organizational changes.

Structure of Expenses on National Defense in 1995 (in percent)

Human resources	54.3
Exploitation of technical equipment	13.8
Maintenance of buildings	11.4
Purchases of equipment and arms	8.7
Support services	5.6
Subsidies for military academies	2.5
Investments	2.0
Scientific research	0.9

Military Collegium Stresses Lack of Money

WS2211125794 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 94 p 2

[Article by K.Gr.: "Commanders, Advisers to Chief of Staff: Skimping May Cost Us Dearly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It is no longer possible to save money at the expense of the Armed Forces," the Collegium of Commanders of the Polish Army stated yesterday. It held a session chaired by General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff. Unless the Army receives more money from the budget, Wilecki may adopt cost-cutting measures. The question is, however, whether the Army will then be able to perform its constitutional duties toward the state. This is how the communique of the Collegium ends.

The Collegium of Commanders of the Polish Army of the Polish Republic is an advisory and opinion-making organ of the chief of the General Staff. Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki set it up on 20 December 1993. Its members are all deputies of Wilecki, commanders of the military districts and branches of the Armed Forces, chiefs of strategic planning, and chiefs of organization-and-mobilization planning. Nonpermanent members of the Collegium, elected for a year, are commanders of several divisions.

Yesterday's session was the fourth meeting of the Collegium. Its sessions are secret, and communiques are issued to the press only after the meetings are concluded. The sessions are not convened at regular intervals. "The Collegium is today the only place in the Army where a three-star general may exchange his views with a major and treat him like a partner," RZECZPOSPOLITA was told this past March by Major Mariusz Jedrzejlo, who at that time fwas spokesman for the Collegium.

It follows from the communique that the commanders yesterday analyzed "the influence of combat technology and other military equipment on the combat-readiness level in military districts and various branches of the Armed Forces."

They stated that "it is no longer possible to save money at the expense of the Armed Forces."

"The political bodies that will decide the distribution of next year's budget should be aware of this fact."

"Not enough money for spare parts, halting the process of modernizing combat equipment, lowering the level of ammunition and fuel reserves, decreasing the amount of money earmarked for equipment use—these are all phenomena that have become the usual thing for commanders at all levels this year," reads the communique issued by Major Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, spokesman for the General Staff.

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President Iliescu Discusses Ties With Bulgaria

AU2211151394 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Goran Gotev at Cotroceni Palace in Bucharest; date not given: "We Will Seek More Areas and Forms of Active Cooperation]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Gotev] In both Romania and Bulgaria there are extremists forces that present chauvinist territorial claims that damage our reputation abroad. From a number of statements we know that those claims are not supported by Sofia or Bucharest. What should be done to make the political forces, including the nationalistic circles, understand that it is in the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples' vital interests to cooperate more and more closely for faster and more comprehensive integration in Europe?

[Iliescu] As I have said many times in the past, I think that there are no disputed issues between us. I am surprised that there are certain circles in Bulgaria that are active in this area, and that articles are being published regarding issues that no one raises in Romania. If anyone does raise such topics in Romania, it is done in an historical context and not in the context of relations with Bulgaria. We maintain the position that realism should prevail in politics. This means that we maintain certain realities affirmed by international documents at the end of World War II, peace treaties, the Helsinki documents, and the European Charter, which is based on the existing borders in Europe. It is one thing to discuss historical issues and certain questions that require historical clarification, including the assessment of certain international documents, such as the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, and quite another thing to question relations between existing states.

[Gotev] What are the specific practical results of your last meeting with Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev in Sofia?

[Iliescu] I think that in my statement I stressed our intention to utilize the meeting in order to outline several basic ideas. From a political point of view we wanted to stress the fact that Romania and Bulgaria enjoy good and normal relations, and are developing good neighborly contacts. It is in our interest to strengthen those relations. Our meeting was an ample opportunity to mutually get to know each other and exchange opinions, and review what has been done after signing the friendship and goodneighborly relations treaty. I expressed our common interest in expanding the infrastructure in the context of our countries' efforts to develop cooperation in the region and strengthen European integration. Developing the infrastructure and mutually connecting our links with Europe is a matter of vital importance. We cannot do this separately because we do not have sufficient forces and reserves. We must apply together for international financial assistance and develop cooperation with those economic circles that are prepared to help us. We especially discussed the issue of expanding the highway network in Europe, an issue that has also been discussed by the European transportation ministers. We want to adopt a common platform of action and determine our priorities, for example, regarding the establishment of five border checkpoints across the Danube. We decided to accelerate the measures related to this matter by activating ferryboats and erecting new bridges. We discovered that the two countries' ministries have different views and variants, and therefore the priorities must be determined in order to decided how to begin—whether by expanding the Giurgiu- Ruse Bridge, or by erecting a new bridge at a location that is most important for both countries.

We also discussed our common efforts to effect integration with European organizations—NATO, the Council of Europe, and so forth. We also exchanged opinions about the situation in Yugoslavia and expressed our concern with the negative development in this region. We also discussed the cooperation initiatives in the Black Sea region and our integration in the European economic structures.

[Gotev] Mr. President, what do you think hinders the development of more active and mutually beneficial relations between our countries?

[Iliescu] I think that the great concern of the political forces in both countries regarding the solution of internal problems is a powerful factor in the complex domestic situation in Bulgaria and Romania. We are in the midst of very complex processes. It is very important to get acquainted, study both the negative and positive experience, and help each other. We agreed with President Zhelev to support the sphere of mutual interests, in order to be able to seek more spheres and forms of active cooperation between our neighboring and friendly states.

UNICEF Committee on 'Demographic Collapse'

AU2211131294 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Aida Danaila: "In Social Protection Issues Romania Ranks Last in East Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, during the news conference of UNICEF's Romanian National Committee, they discussed the situation of children in Romania, offering various relevant figures, such as: The degree of absolute poverty among children, below the minimum subsistence level, has reached 72 percent; Romania is facing an unprecedented demographic collapse, even worse than during World War II or during severe economic crisis periods; child allowance indexations have consistently lagged behind salary indexations.

Virgiliu Radulian, the chairman of the UNICEF Romanian National Committee, drew attention to the fact that "Romania's social protection policy ranks last among all nine Eastern European countries."

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Party Leaders Oppose PNL Joining CDR

AU2211142094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Horia Rusu, PL '93 [Liberal Party '93] executive chairman, stated today during the party's weekly news conference that the PL '93 opposed PNL [National Liberal Party] integration in the CDR [Democratic Convention of Romania] by means of the Civic-Liberal Alliance, because the alternative proposed by the PAC [Civic Alliance Party] would have constituted a violation of CDR Protocol: It does not provide for the admission of parties without parliamentary representation to the CDR Executive Committee. Besides the aforementioned reason, Rusu said, they also rejected the proposal because of the political declarations made over the past year by PNL representatives, which—in the opinion of PL '93—were at variance with the opinions of the CDR.

Rusu also pointed out that PL '93 continues to support the idea of a merger of all liberal-oriented parties within a single political party.

Addressing the possibility of holding early parliamentary elections in spring of next year, as suggested by PNTCD [National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party] Chairman Corneliu Coposu, Deputy Dinu Patriciu said that PL '93 thinks such a solution would be beneficial for the country.

On other issues, Patriciu said that at the CDR Executive Committee meeting scheduled for this week the PL '93 will propose that the following issues should be discussed: The establishment of the stance to be adopted by CDR parliamentarians with respect to the 1995 Draft Budget; working out CDR strategy to block the draft bill on privatization acceleration; blocking the draft bill on nationalized lodgings, and dissociating the CDR from Bucharest General Mayor Crin Halaicu's actions.

Mitrea To Become 14th PDSR Vice President

AU2211161394 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 18 Nov 94 p 2

[Report by Adrian Halpert: "The Comedy of Fighting for a Piece of the Pie in the Ruling Party Has Reached Unprecedented Heights: Miron Mitrea Becomes the 14th Vice President of the PDSR!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the evening of Wednesday, 16 November, the PDSR [Social Democracy Party of Romania] Standing Delegation sanctioned the protocol on that party's merger with the Social Solidarity Party, headed by Miron Mitrea. The PDSR Executive Bureau is to approve the protocol during its 5 December session.

According to the document, "union leader" Miron Mitrea is to become the 14th (!) vice president of the ruling party. Obviously, the PDSR is ready to offer the office of vice president to every important personality who agrees to join it before the parliamentary elections scheduled for 1996.

PUNR Leaders, Melescanu Discuss Hungarian Ties

AU2311075394 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, representatives of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party] leadership met at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters with Mr. Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and minister of foreign affairs of Romania.

During the talks, the head of the Romanian diplomacy referred to the Hungarian-Romanian negotiations held recently in Bucharest at the expert level on the general evolution of bilateral relations and the continuation of the process of drafting the basic treaty between Romanian and Hungary.

The communique released by the PUNR assesses positively the way in which actions have been taken to identify concrete ways aimed at giving an impetus to Romanian-Hungarian cooperation.

The communique also expresses the PUNR's support for the acceleration of the process to finalize the text of the treaty, which should ensure that the principles of inviolability of borders and territorial integrity and the rights of people who belong to the Hungarian minority in Romania and the Romanian minority in Hungary respectively, in accordance with European standards and international documents that the two countries have signed, are adequately reflected in Romanian-Hungarian relations.

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Bihac Fighting Rages, NATO Planes Attack

SA-2 Missiles Fired

LD2211113294 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1053 GMT 22 Nov 94

[By Charles Miller, PA News Defense Correspondent]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Two Royal Navy Sea Harrier jump-jets narrowly escaped unharmed today after coming under attack from Serb surface-to-air missiles in an apparent riposte to the NATO attack on the Udbina airfield. The warplanes were flying a regular combat air patrol to enforce the no-fly zone over Bosnia when two SA-2 missiles were fired from the Banja Luka region in the Bosnian Serb heartland.

Neither missile hit and the Sea Harrier pilots saw them explode high above the aircraft at around 35,000ft. There were no other aircraft in the area and the pilots were convinced they were deliberately targeted. The Sea Harriers, which took no retaliatory action, completed their patrol and returned safely to the carrier HMS Invincible in the Adriatic.

The missile launch, at about 0815 this morning, had all the hallmarks of a revenge attack for the successful strike on the Serb- held Udbina airfield in Croatia yesterday. About 30 NATO strike aircraft, including four RAF Jaguars, severely damaged the single runway and taxiways and destroyed SAM missile sites, anti-aircraft batteries and radar installations. The Croatian Serbs immediately warned of retaliation against the United Nations and Croatia. And the firing of two SA-2 medium-range SAMs gave a clear signal of their intentions. However, the Russian-designed SA-2 has been in service since 1958 and is now technologically obsolescent. It is no longer particularly effective against modern warplanes with sophisticated countermeasures systems such as electronic jammers, chaff, and flares.

Hand to Hand Fighting

AU2211122394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mulic "from the Bihac front"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Fierce and decisive battles for the defense of the Bihac protected zone and the entire area continue today despite yesterday's NATO bombing of Udbina airport and the United Nations clear warning that the aggression on this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina must stop.

Throughout the night and this morning the enemy artillery, tanks, and infantry have been targeting Bihac, Cazin, Velika Kladusa, and the free parts of Bosanska Krupa, particularly the villages along the border with Croatia. Martic's Chetniks from the direction of Donji Lapac and Meljinovac in the UN Protected Areas have crossed the border into Bosnia-Herzegovina and are destroying, torching, and killing civilians. The Croatian villages of Veliki Skocaj, Mali Skocaj, Medjudrazje, and Zavalje have disappeared in flames, while tank and infantry attacks from Licko Petrovo Selo are directed at the Bosniak villages of Klokot, (?Bapare), Izatic, Litice, Velika [name indistinct]. All the attacks are perpetrated from the occupied Croatian areas. The 5th Corps members are heroically resisting the Chetnik assaults on the Bihac protected area and the entire region.

The attacks are coming in waves, villages and districts are ablaze; on the other side, from the slopes of Mt. Grmec, the aggressor is intensively attacking the defense lines of the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army members that are under their full control. The fiercest fighting is taking place around Bosanska Krupa and the Grabez Plateau. Tank and infantry attacks are coming in waves, and there is hand-to-hand fighting reported in some areas. The battle for Bihac and the Bihac region [words indistinct] on all sides. It is obvious that yesterday's bombing of Udbina airport was not enough warning to deter the joint aggressor from attacking the Bihac protected area that is going through the hardest and most dramatic moments in contemporary history.

Plea for NATO Action

AU2211122594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] A fresh appeal from Bihac was today addressed to NATO to bomb aggressor targets in the so-called UN Protected Areas [UNPA] since the aggressor's attacks from the Croatian occupied areas have not stopped despite yesterday's bombing of Udbina airport. The people of Bihac are appealing to NATO to deliver an ultimatum to the Croatian Serbs to stop the attacks or they will bomb their tanks, long-range artillery, and every other weapon used in attacks.

Everything in the Bihac area is being attacked. Four villages—formerly populated by Croats—are in flames. I say formerly populated, because there is no one left there. The villages of Veliki Skocaj, Mali Skocaj, Zavalje, and Medjudrazje have ceased to exist. The population have been killed, the houses set ablaze. Five thousand of Martic's Chetniks and the remains of Fikret Abdic's paramilitary forces have destroyed the four villages. We have learned from the 5th Corps that they are mercilessly attacking from all directions, but the fiercest attacks are coming from the direction of Pljesivica. The Chetnik hordes and Abdic followers from the direction of Pljesivica are at this very moment pouring into the Bihac area. Therefore, we appeal to the UN Protection Force and international organizations to help, because the humanitarian situation is also catastrophic. There is no food even in the hospitals. There is no medicine or dressings, and all this because of the terrible aggression that is at this very moment being carried out from the UNPA zone. That is why the people of Bihac are

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appealing to NATO to bomb the Serbian tanks and long-range artillery in the UNPA zones from which the Cazin Krajina is being attacked even as I speak.

Mladic Protests Air Attacks

LD2211134694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Colonel- General Ratko Mladic, commander of the army of the Serb Republic, today sent a letter to Bertrand de Lapresle, commander of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] in former Yugoslavia, accusing him of "escalating the war in the region."

Maldic's message, which was also sent to TANJUG, was in reply to de Laresle's letter yesterday in which the UNPROFOR commander tried to justify NATO air raids against the Udbina airfield.

In the letter the UNPROFOR commander said that the NATO action "became an imperative" due to "repeated air strikes carried out from Udbina against the Bihac area" and that "it was carried out in a measured and proportionate way ... to ensure protracted neutralization of the airfield."

De Lapresle asked Gen Mladic to refrain from any kind of measures following the attack, "which are likely to contribute to the further escalation or deterioration in an already tense situation" and to "use your authoritiy to prevent the use of force or wrong initiatives against UNPROFOR personnel or equipment."

Replying to de Lapresle, Gen Mladic says: "Your letter of 21 November is full of cynicism and cannot justify the crimes you are committing against the Serb people by people dressed in the uniforms of 'peacekeeping forces.'

"You have resolved to impose a solution on the crisis and the civil war which would suit the Croats and the Muslims, by using the arms and military power of NATO ... In a brutal and merciless way you attack using powerful air formations and at the same time you ask for mercy for your personnel," Mladic says in his letter.

"I do not see a reason why your people should continue to be engaged in the area of the Serb Republic nor how I might protect you when, after the brutal attacks on the innocent Serb people in the republic of Serb Krajina, the 'peacekeeping forces' have clearly and openly turned themselves into forces of occupation.

"You are responsible, generals, for the escalation of the war in this area and your offer for General Rose to continue to mediate in the establishment of a cease-fire is senseless. Rest assured that peace cannot be brought about by bombardments by the NATO pact, which at your behest is sowing death and committing crimes in Gorazde, Sarajevo, and Udbina," Gen Mladic says in his letter to UNPROFOR commander de Lapresle.

UNPROFOR: Two Killed

AU2211133694 Paris AFP in English 1250 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 22 (AFP)—NATO aircraft left two people dead and four wounded when they bombed a Serb-held airfield in Croatia Monday, an official belonging to the UN Protection Force said here Tuesday.

The UN-authorized NATO raid, which disabled the runway at Udbina airbase, came in response to Croatian Serb attacks last week on the UN safe area of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia.

Meanwhile the leader of the Serb secessionist state proclaimed by Croatian Serbs in Krajina, Milan Martic, said seven people had been injured in the raid, two seriously, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA reported. [passage omitted]

'Fierce Shelling' Reported

AU2211135294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Extremely fierce shelling of Velika Kladusa, Bihac, and all of the surrounding villages is being carried out at this very moment from the so-called Serbian Autonomous Province of Krajina, reports the Bosnia-Herzegovina 5th Corps. [passage omitted]

According to the 5th Corps's reliable information, it is only the Serbian paramilitary that is attacking the Cazin Krajina, Martic's Chetniks (?that is), because the remains of Abdic's paramilitary have been either completely repulsed or routed. Therefore, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army 5th Corps has completely repulsed and routed Abdic's forces and chaos rules among them. The aggression against Cazin Krajina is being carried out by the Chetniks from the so- called Republic of Serbian Krajina.

'Unbearable' Situation in Vares

AU2211174194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Mladen Bosnjak]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today, Ivo Komsic, member of the state presidency and the president of the Croatian Peasant Party, held a news conference at which he presented the facts that he had observed while visiting the Vares region. Mr. Komsic last visited Vares (?and) a village near Kakanj between 19 and 21 November. Mladen Bosnjak has the details:

[Bosnjak] The struggle for the federation must now be fought and can only be won on the ground. There are areas where no progress is being made regarding the

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federation, there are areas where modest results are being made, and there are also areas where the situation is deteriorating. Vares is one of these areas where the situation is deteriorating. Here are the arguments and facts Mr. Komsic used to explain the reasons for that.

[Begin Komsic recording] I have probably visited Vares five or six times since the signing of the Washington Agreement, and I am (?surprised) that the situation is worse every time I come here.

According to my information, on the territory of Vares Municipality there are now over 3,000 refugees. However, all those who have returned do not have any civil rights, and the Vares authorities, that is, the War Presidency, despite all the talks that I have held with them, have not done anything to change the situation.

The people do not enjoy elementary civil rights. The situation is such that these people cannot live in their own houses, which are now empty. They are not on the lists of people receiving humanitarian aid. Their children do not have the status of pupils in schools. They are in schools only thanks to the goodwill of their teachers or professors. Moreover, even those who die outside the area where their local cemetery is, or those who die outside their own county, are not allowed to be buried in that cemetery. [passage omitted] [end recording]

[Bosnjak] The Vares municipal authorities have not allowed the Croats to return from surrounding villages, not even during the recent marking of the 140th anniversary of the Vares church and the 350th anniversary of keeping records of births and deaths. In other words, the Vares authorities banned the celebration in the town hall without giving a real reason.

Addressing journalists, Mr. Ivo Komsic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the president of the Croatian Peasant Party, clearly explained the character of his state and party activities, thus preempting questions about Vares as a town where the authorities got their own back for Stolac and Capljina.

[Begin Komsic recording] Of course we should try to change the situation on the entire territory that is envisaged as the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is a clear principled stand. I have never taken part in the work of the Herzeg-Bosna authorities. On the contrary, I have been against that creation and held the view that it has had a negative role in relations between the Croatian and Bosniak Muslim peoples. I therefore took the side of the legal organs of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and I am participating in their work. I consider myself responsible for all the regions that are under the control of the legal organs of the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The situation in Vares in unbearable. The authorities, who are illegal authorities anyway, since they are the authorities of the Party of Democratic Action, are not the ruling party in Vares. We have agreed in Washington, and it is written in the Federal Constitution, that the authorities that existed in 1990 must be reinstated. This is being obstructed and attempts are being made to [words indistinct] keep these authorities as long as possible, and thus preserve the situation the way I briefly described it to you. [end recording]

Serb Attacks Repelled

AU2211155694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Omer Karic]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After amassing many forces in the regions of Zelomici and (?Duboka), the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor yesterday in the late afternoon launched a fierce offensive on the positions of the 4th Corps' fighters on the [word indistinct] front. Fierce Chetnik attacks continued this morning. Omer Karic reports:

[Karic] The aggressor is attacking from the direction of Kalinovik Ljuta, and its aim is to take the Ljuta elevation and the Jabuka and (?Vlase) locations, which would enable it to effectively attacks the units of the 1st and the 4th Corps from behind. All the aggressor's attacks were successfully repelled without suffering any losses. The enemy has been pushed back to its initial positions. The fighters and officers of the 4th Corps successfully control the situation and are not allowing the Chetniks to change the lines of defense by a single millimeter.

Karadzic' criminals on the south part of the 4th Corps' theater of operations are carrying out strong artillery attacks on the defense lines, free territory, civilian facilities, and residential areas. [passage omitted]

Army Report on Bihac

AU2211153694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] After the NATO attack on Udbina airport, the aggressor from the occupied parts of the Republic of Croatia has stepped up attacks on the Bihac region and the town of Bihac itself. This was reported by the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The aggressor carried out the most intensive attacks on the battle lines at Melinovac, Veliki Skocaj, Mali Skocaj, Prtine Uvale, Medjutrazje, Zavalje, Zeljeva Klokot airport, and Bugar (?Zata). Yesterday, overnight, and this morning, from its positions in Melinovac, Zeljezno Polje, Gola Pljesevica, and Licko Petrovo Selo, which are in the Republic of Croatia, the aggressor carried out attacks on these villages and the suburbs of Bihac with all types of artillery and anti-aircraft weapons, as well as tanks and mortars, firing several thousand projectiles.

The settlements of Kamenica, Izacic, Rujnica, Gata, Trzacka Rasela, and Janici and Sturlic in Velika Kladusa Municipality were the targets of strong artillery attacks

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from the occupied parts of Croatia. On this part of the front, members of the 5th Corps repelled all attacks. In the Rajinovci region, they completely routed and inflicted heavy losses on the aggressor and Fikret Abdic's paramilitary.

On the eastern part of the front, members of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina repelled dozens of artillery-infantry attacks and defended their positions and all dominant locations. This refers particularly to the Grabez Plateau, on which the aggressor fired more than 500 projectiles of all caliber, and on the Bosanska Krupa and Buzim fronts, where our fighters repelled several infantry attacks in the regions of Palez and Kobiljak.

Yesterday, members of the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina liquidated 30 aggressor soldiers. Several dozen of them were wounded and two of them were captured. On that occasion, the fighters also captured one Bofors, one ZIS, one BRP, and four M-84 machine guns, which significantly influenced the morale of our fighters, who are aware that by defending Bihac and Bosnia- Herzegovina they are defending their own lives and the lives of their loved ones.

This was reported by the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia- Herzegovina.

Serbs Close to City Center

AU2211144994 Paris AFP in English 1431 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov 22 (AFP)—Advancing Serb forces were closing in on the UN-protected town of Bihac, in northwestern Bosnia-Hercegovina, Tuesday and were only two kilometres (a mile) from the centre, Bosnian military sources said here.

Most of the fighting was taking place in mainly Croat-populated villages on the outskirts of the Moslem-dominated town, a Fifth army corps source said.

In Sarajevo, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) sources said a coalition of Bosnian and Croatian Serbs assisted by Moslem rebels had completely surrounded the 80 square kilometres (30 square miles) of the Bihac UN-mandated safe area, from the south, west and east.

Sarajevo radio reported hand-to-hand fighting south of Bihac.

UNPROFOR spokesman Lt.-Col. Jan-Dirk von Merveldt said UN observers in the Bihac pocket reported a possible helicopter attack in the Bihac no-fly zone Tuesday afternoon.

Further on Bihac Battle

AU2211163694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Nada al-Isa from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] An unprecedented, fierce attack on Bihac from all directions is currently under way. We were told this by the 5th Corps of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The town is being pounded, destroyed, and is in flames.

UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is not doing anything. The town is reverberating constantly from the detonation of shells fired by the Serb paramilitary from the so-called SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] Krajina. This aggression is horrific. Therefore, the 250,000 residents of the Bihac region demand that the Security Council takes some measures urgently, as Bihac, as they say, is experiencing hell. They want NATO to bomb all Serb military targets in the so-called SAO Krajina, they want UNPROFOR to at least try to react on the ground, to at least try to prevent the incursions by the Serbian paramilitary from the SAO Krajina, as this paramilitary is still crossing the border without any problems.

Four villages around Bihac—Veliki Skocaj, Mali Skocaj, Zavalje, and Medjugradje—no longer exist. Their residents, mainly Croats, have been expelled or killed. Unfortunately, ethnic cleansing in these villages has been completed. The aggressor is continuing to kill the Bihac region. Therefore, we repeat the appeal of the Bihac residents to the Security Council, the entire international community, NATO, and UNPROFOR to do something immediately as this horrific aggression on Bihac is actually under way.

This is Nada al-Isa reporting for the Radio and Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina citing information from the 5th Corps.

Serbs Inflict 'Huge' Losses

LD2211171494 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Muslim and Croat forces today continued attacking the Serb fighters' positions. Serb army units have inflicted huge losses upon the Muslim 5th Corps in the fighting near Krupa na Uni today. The Muslims have suffered heavy defeats in other sections of the Bihac-Krupa front as well, especially on the Grmusa-Grabez plateau, the information service of the 2d Krajina Corps has reported.

Karadzic Threatens Revenge

LD2211170894 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Radovan Karadzic, president of the [Bosnian] Serb republic, stated for SRNA today that yesterday's bombing of Udbina airport by NATO forces was a move by a criminal, regional organization which has blatantly disregarded all the norms of international law and which will probably lead to its own destruction. This, in any event, is a moral catastrophe for NATO and

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for the United States, as the leading nation in the United Nations and NATO, the president of the republic assessed. He stressed that no one can carry out criminal acts without being punished for them.

We are considering the possibility of revenge and will ourselves determine the targets and when to hit them, and we will try to make this very painful for the NATO members, President Karadzic warned. He expressed regret that the nations of England and France are in this position as NATO members but, according to him, they must do something to counter U.S. behavior toward the rest of the world.

Abdic Forces 'Successes'

LD2211182594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Units of [Fikret Abdic's] People's Defense of the autonomous province of western Bosnia are scoring great successes in the Bihac area in the south of the province, Radio Velkaton reported this evening.

According to the same source, Bihac's suburbs of Klokot and Papari have come under the control of the People's Defense in their irrepressible advance. The People's Defense has also entered Vedro Polje, which means that they are within reach of the very center of Bihac.

Velkaton reports that the command of the 5th Corps of the so- called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army has left Bihac and settled somewhere in the heartland of the autonomous province of western Bosnia. Units of the People's Defense are very near the Adil Besic military base.

In addition, the same source announces that the 511th Krupa Brigade of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is in complete disarray, and that it was broken up in today's fighting between Bosanska Krupa and Bosanska Otoka. Its members are withdrawing in a disorderly manner toward Vilenjaca, west of Bosanska Krupa, toward Cazin, and the line of communications between Bosanska Krupa and Bosanska Otoka has been cut.

Radio Velkaton says that riots have broken out in Bihac in which the population has risen up against the special unit called Tajfun from the 501st brigade of the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This unit allegedly tried to stop inhabitants from trying to leave Bihac.

Besides these allegations, Velkaton also cites today's broadcasts on Radio Deutsche Welle, which, according to what they say, claim that a large group of 60,000 people have set out from Bihac into the interior of Cazin Krajina.

Fresh Serb Troops

AU2211193994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The bestial attacks on the Bihac region, a UN protected zone, by Karadzic's and Martic's Chetniks from the so-called SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region] Krajina have continued. Thousands of various projectiles have landed on Bihac and its outskirts. Tank-infantry attacks by Chetniks from the direction of the Licko Petrovo Selo, [words indistinct] and the entire region of the so-called SAO Krajina on the [word indistinct] regions on the Bihac and Cazin municipalities have been intensified, especially in the afternoon.

All settlements are again in flames. Everything is again being destroyed, torched. The (?frightened) population is fleeing. The Chetniks are also using helicopters in these attacks, for both attacks and for bringing in fresh troops and new military hardware.

It is obvious that everything that has been happening here in Bihac since yesterday, after the NATO attack, is a real world farce. The Chetniks have in fact stepped up attacks and the killing of the population. Today they carried out intensive attacks on the defense lines toward Bosanski Petrovac and the Bosanska Krupa part of the front with all available weapons.

Several thousand of them are attacking Velika Kladusa and the defense lines in the area. They are destroying (?everything in front of them). Will a NATO action contribute to the faster [word indistinct] and destruction of one part of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the 200,000 people who live in it? This is also proof that there is after all an international plot against the Bihac region, which is today being attacked more intensively than at any time since the beginning of the offensive from the so-called SAO Krajina.

It is difficult to describe and [word indistinct] the drama that culminated here, especially after 1400 [1300 GMT].

Presidency Issues Statement

AU2211191094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] We have just received the following statement from the cabinet of the president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The statement reads:

The situation in Bihac and the entire region continues to deteriorate. The town is directly threatened. The most dangerous attacks are being launched from the direction of the UNPA [UN Protection Areas] in the neighboring Republic of Croatia.

This amounts to a crude violation of the norms of international law since the attack (?came) from the territory of another state, as well as the violation of the Security Council resolutions since this is a UN protected zone.

[Words indistinct] nothing has been done to stop these attacks despite the (?current authorization) that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] and NATO have in

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this respects. Yesterday's air attack on Udbina airport did not help Bihac much, as tanks and infantry continue to attack.

The situation in Bihac is the result of a protracted and incomprehensible passivity by UNPROFOR, which has been tolerating the total humanitarian blockade of the Bihac region for more than half of the year. This has brought the situation to the verge of a catastrophe.

The situation is made worse by the media blockade of the region. The world does not know exactly what is happening and is not reacting in an appropriate way. We demand that UNPROFOR make it possible for foreign correspondents and reporters to go to the spot, and that UNPROFOR itself reports objectively on the real military situation on the ground.

An urgent and effective action is necessary to save the town and the population of the Bihac region from the fate intended for them by the joint attackers.

We feel obliged to warn that if the situation deteriorates further, all prospects for a peaceful solution to the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be lost.

This was stated in a communique issued by the cabinet of the president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Refugees Fleeing

AU2211182894 Paris AFP in English 1800 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 22 (AFP)—Thousands of Bosnian refugees fled fighting in the Bihac enclave Tuesday to seek refuge in the UN-designated safe area around Bihac town as Bosnian Serbs scorned UN threats of NATO airstrikes to press home their military advantage.

Around 2,000 refugees streamed out of the southern suburbs of the town, close to the Serb front line, to reach the 80 square kilometre (30 square mile) safe area staked out around the town, Lisa Jones, spokeswoman for the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), said here.

Sarajevo Radio and later a Bosnian Army source in Zagreb said there was hand-to-hand fighting to the south of the town.

The army source said the stepping up of the fighting in Bihac was accompanied by heavy shelling from Serb-controlled heights across the border in Croatia's Krajina region.

"Artillery attacks on Bihac have been threatening the town since the early evening on Tuesday," the source said.

A UN statement in Zagreb confirmed artillery attacks on the enclave by Krajina Serbs but said there were "no violations of the safety area."

The fighting was taking place "close to Bihac, but outside the safe area," the statement said.

Earlier the Bosnian Army source said the Serb forces were only two kilometres (a mile) from the town centre.

Sarajevo radio said several villages to the south and southwest of the safety area had been totally destroyed. The ICRC here said they had been 70 percent destroyed.

The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] here said fighting was continuing late Tuesday with a slackening of the artillery bombardment.

Spokesman Herve Gourmelon said Bosnia's 5th army corps was pitted against forces loyal to renegade Moslem leader Fikret Abdic backed by Serb artillery.

The Bosnian news agency said there was hand to hand fighting two kilometres (a mile) south of the town centre, which would be within the safe area, but there was no confirmation by UNPROFOR.

An UNPROFOR spokesman in Zagreb earlier warned that further NATO airstrikes, similar to that launched against the Udbina airfield in Croatia on Monday, would be envisaged if UN troops in Bihac, or the safe area of Bihac town, came under direct fire.

Krajisnik: NATO Strike 'Crime'

LD2211205494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb National Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik on Tuesday said Monday's NATO air strike on Udbina airfield in the republic of Serb Krajina was a crime.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted Krajisnik as saying the world was trying to find a pretext for its vile plans which had nothing in common with any norm of international law or international justice.

Krajisnik was quoted as saying the air strike on Udbina airfield was not a preventive measure but a United States-dictated scenario which could develop into a general war.

Krajisnik said the air strike had not contributed to peace but only added fuel to the flames, which both the Bosnian and Krajina Serbs strongly opposed.

SRNA quoted Krajisnik as saying he would like a solution to be found for talks to resume and for what is on the horizon to be prevented.

Bangladeshi Situation 'Critical'

AU2211210094 Paris AFP in English 2037 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Sarajevo, Nov 22 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic appealed Tuesday for urgent measures to save the besieged Moslem pocket

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of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia, saying Monday's NATO airstrike against Croatian Serbs in the area had not improved the situation there. [passage omitted]

A UN spokesman in the Croatian town of Topusko meanwhile told AFP described as "critical" the humanitarian situation for a battalion of Bangladeshi UN troops trapped inside the Bihac enclave [sentence as received].

The spokesman, who asked to remain anonymous, said the troops' stocks of food and water would run out by Friday at the latest.

"They have had no fresh produce for days," the spokesman said, adding that the group's fuel supplies were now virtually exhausted.

The battalion found themselves trapped in no man's land when the Croatian Serbs joined the Bosnian Serb war effort in the region on October 28, and are now stuck between the two forces with the only way out through the town of Maljevac, itself blockaded.

In all, 1,127 Bangladeshi soldiers are deployed at three bases.

One is at the heart of the fighting at Velika Kladusa, Abdic's former stronghold in the north of the enclave, another is in Bihac town itself and the third is in nearby Cazin, which is often targetted by artillery and which was hit by a Serb airstrike Saturday.

Serbs Condemn NATO Attack

LD2211230394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2227 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The government of the [Bosnian] Serb republic today condemned "the terrorist attack by the NATO air force" against the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], noting that this is "a further example of anti-Serb forces in the world openly siding with those who provoked and are the main protagonists in the civil war in the former Yugoslavia."

The public statement carried by the SRNA agency stresses that the Serb republic government expresses its full solidarity with the people of the RSK and that it will fully comply with its obligations in the common defense proclaimed in the declaration [adopted by the RSK and the Serb republic].

Warning that all warmongers, including the Muslim authorities in Sarajevo, will bear the consequences of their own actions directed against peace in this part of Europe, the government has called on all international players "to refrain from using force and siding with any party in the conflict, and to persist in the work of relaunching the peace process and direct negotiations between the sides in the conflict."

AFP: Serbs Enter Bihac

AU2311091394 Paris AFP in English 0839 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 23 (AFP)—Serb forces have entered the UN-declared safe area of Bihac town, seizing high ground on the southern side of the city, a UN spokesman said here Wednesday, citing unconfirmed reports.

Serb forces appeared to have captured a 572 meter high (1,870 feet) hill, overlooking Bihac town located inside the UN-declared safe area, Major Herve Gourmelon said.

"We are not yet sure whether this fighting started outside the safe area and is now going on inside it, or whether the area was deliberately targetted," Gourmelon said.

The area concerned is a four kilometer long by nearly three kilometer wide (2.4 by two mile) hill, called Debeljaca.

The United Nations had earlier warned it would strike at Serb forces if they deliberately attacked the 80 square kilometer Bihac safe area or any UN peacekeepers in the government-held enclave.

Serb forces, who have nearly completed their encirclement of the safe area, also appeared to have cut off water supplies to the town, Gourmelon said.

Fighting meanwhile continued in the north of the enclave around the government-held town of Velika Kladusa, he added.

Meanwhile, UN forces in Bosnia were on "orange" alert Wednesday morning, while flights in and out of Sarejevo were suspended with the airport on top "red" alert, UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesmen said here.

In Washington Tuesday, a U.S. Defence Department spokesman said NATO could attack Serb forces again, after attacking a Serb airfield in Croatia, if they sought to launch operations in Bosnia- Hercegovina from territory in neighboring Croatia.

"We stand ready to send a message again if necessary," spokesman Kenneth Bacon said.

Bacon said the situation on the ground in Bosnia was bad but described the air strike Monday by 36 North American Treaty Organization (NATO) warplanes on an airstrip in Croatia as successful.

In Zagreb, UN spokesman Aleksander Ivanov described the situation in Bihac, as "very, very tense", but said there was "no new UN request for use of NATO air power".

'Fierce' Fighting Reported

AU2311094594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Nada al-Isa report from Zagreb]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fighting around Bihac itself is very fierce. Despite [word indistinct] shelling, the defenders—soldiers of the 5th Corps—are resisting the aggressor's attempts to enter the town.

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The UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in its reports from the field claims that fighting is raging around the safe haven, however, (?there is fighting within the UN safe haven itself) and very fierce, too. The NATO pact now has every reason to bomb the Serbian military targets again. UNPROFOR has plenty of reasons for issuing such an order to the NATO pact as the aggressor's army is even now, at this very moment, crossing from Croatia into Bosnia. They are pounding the UN safe haven with long-range artillery right now.

Besides, the aggressor [words indistinct] Bihac. As we have already reported, [words indistinct] notorious general of the Serbian paramilitary Ratko Mladic personally issued an order to his paramilitary to try and turn off a water pipe in the village of (?Strzic) from where the entire Bihac safe haven and Bihac itself are supplied with water. As we said, this order was issued personally by the notorious General Mladic. By this he is trying to worsen further the already tragic situation in Bihac—a UN safe haven.

(?Izetici) can only be accessed from the Croatian side, which is another proof to UNPROFOR and the NATO pact that the aggression is being waged from the Croatian occupied territories. Bihac is threatened with a new catastrophe—[word indistinct]. Due to shelling and the grave humanitarian situation, (?a new war is looming in Bosnia), all this [words indistinct] from Bihac an appeal to all who can help to help.

New NATO Raid Reported

LD2311110794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1050 GMT 23 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 23 (TANJUG)—NATO warplanes Wednesday again launched an attack in Bosnia in the region of the city of Banja Luka, the French news agency AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE said.

Quoting military sources, AFP said the attack was aimed probably at a missile site in the Serb region of Banja Luka, from which fire was opened at two British planes tuesday.

The attack is under way, AFP said. A senior military official said several possible targets had been set for the NATO warplanes in this mission, AFP said.

Defense Lines Broken

AU2311120194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Report by Muhamed Mujic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Bihac safe haven continues to be subjected to the fiercest of attacks by the joint aggressor, who today continues to attack this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina fiercely, with artillery, tanks, and infantry movements. The bulk of attacks is still emanating from the territories of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, that is, UN Protected Areas [in Croatia]. The outskirts of Bihac [word indistinct] with especially [words indistinct] Zavalje [word indistinct] are Vedro Polje, Klokot, Papari, Izacic, [word indistinct] and other settlements along the border with Croatia. Bihac is also subjected to constant artillery shelling. After several days of fierce attacks from UNPA zones, Martic's Chetniks in several places broke through the defense lines and advanced on the gates of the town and the UN safe haven. The international community still does not react to these fierce attacks on civilians.

Since yesterday, more than 8,000 residents fled from bestial enemy attacks and the destruction of villages in Croatia and Bosnia in Bihac. The already overpopulated town [word indistinct] situation which threatens to grow into a humanitarian catastrophe. [Word indistinct] accommodation of refugees, who continue pouring into Bihac in convoys. [passage omitted]

AFP Report on Raid

AU2311115394 Paris AFP in English 1137 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Nov 23 (AFP)—NATO aircraft on Wednesday [23 Nov] launched a "successful" raid on besieging Serb forces in the Bihac pocket in northwestern Bosnia shortly after the Serb troops penetrated the area, several military sources said here.

The sources said the attacking planes destroyed a SA-2 missile battery near [Bosanska] Otoka, 30 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Bihac.

The United Nations Protection Force withheld comment on the report. [passage omitted]

Further on Air Strike

LD2311120194 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1147 GMT 23 Nov 94

[By Charles Miller, Defence Correspondent, PA News]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] NATO warplanes blasted rebel Bosnian Serb missile sites today in retaliation for the attack on Royal Navy Sea Harriers, military sources said.

The second major Alliance strike within 72 hours was directed at anti-aircraft batteries at Otoka on the edge of the Bihac enclave in northern Bosnia.

The attack is understood to have involved two Sea Harriers, flying air defence "top cover" for the strike aircraft, and two RAF Jaguars, which were used to provide photo reconnaissance.

The target was the site that yesterday fired two SA-2 surface-to- air missiles at two Sea Harriers flying more

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than a mile apart. The pilots took evasive action and watched the missiles pass safely between them.

Defence Secretary Malcolm Rifkind gave MPs a "categoric assurance" yesterday that the Government would support any measures required to ensure the safety of British and other United Nations forces in Bosnia.

On Monday, in the biggest offensive air operation in its 45-year history, NATO warplanes struck at the rebel Serb airbase of Udbina in Croatia. The strike was described by NATO as "highly successful" and pictures showed nine bomb craters along the single runway and taxiways. Two anti-aircraft batteries, a radar installation and a SAM missile site were also hit.

The strike was carried out after Serb planes from Udbina twice attacked the Muslim-held Bihac pocket of north-west Bosnia, a UN- designated "safe area".

Shadow defence secretary David Clark supported the bombing raid but said all UN action must be "measured and proportionate". He said: "Labour believes that any air strikes should be considered and thought-out and in no way an unco-ordinated or Pavlovian reaction."

All of the allied aircraft returned safely to their bases, military sources said later.

NATO and UN commanders decided the missile attack on the Sea Harriers was too serious to go unpunished despite the risk of escalating the dangers to peacekeeping troops on the ground. It is understood the attack was spearheaded by eight American warplanes and also involved two Dutch F-16 reconnaissance jets, four French Jaguars and two Mirages.

The RAF Jaguars followed up the attack to photograph the area so that a detailed analysis of the success of the strike can be made.

Silajdzic: Very Little Impact

AU2311125494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Senada Cumurovic report from news conference by Bosnia- Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic, in Sarajevo on 23 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Begin recording] Asked to comment on how the latest NATO air strike on the aggressor's rocket system near Banja Luka affects the dramatic situation in the Bihac safe haven, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Silajdzic said:

[Silajdzic] Very little, on the current situation, because Bihac is being attacked with artillery and tanks from [words indistinct] that is, mostly from Croatia. We therefore expect that these attacks will be halted as they should be, namely, with air strikes at the tanks and artillery attacking Bihac. General Rose has now told me that they are waiting for the artillery and tanks to attack civilians targets [words indistinct]. I told him that [word indistinct] interest me and that thousands of projectiles have already landed on Bihac [words indistinct] the fact is that (?because of) the Serbian aggression from Croatia, Croatia is now not safe either, and I feared that the Serbs had received the go-ahead to also attack the Croatian [word indistinct] the way they were attacking Bosnia-Herzegovina [words indistinct] across the border from Serbia and Montenegro will not be sufficient. This is an effort to break down our resistance.

[Cumurovic] Dr. Silajdzic also said that General Michael Rose on the map showed him where the Serbian aggressor's troops, which have entered the 3 km safe haven around Bihac, were currently situated.

[Silajdzic] He himself showed it on the map, therefore, there is no doubt that some UN high offices wage an anti-Bosnian campaign and that this policy is helping (?the aggression). We are now striving to unmask this joint plot by the Serbian republic [words indistinct]. [end recording]

NATO Confirms Raid

AU2311122194 Paris AFP in English 1218 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Brussels, Nov 23 (AFP)—NATO warplanes attacked Wednesday [23 November] three Bosnian Serb missile sites which were used to fire at British NATO planes on Tuesday, NATO said.

A spokesman said Wednesday's attack was carried out in reaction to the attack on the Royal Navy Sea Harriers at the request of the UN Protection Force.

Attacks, Fighting Reported in Other Areas

Artillery Attack on Dobjoj

LD2211220894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2159 GMT 22 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Doboj, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Muslim troops late on Tuesday shelled the Bosnian Serb town of Doboj in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb Army sources have said.

The sources said the town was hit by several artillery shells that damaged civilian facilities. According to first reports, there were no casualties.

Dozens of civilian casualties had been reported in the Muslim attacks on Doboj so far.

Bosnian Serb sources said Muslim troops had renewed artillery attacks also on Bosnian Serb positions and civilian targets on the southwestern slopes of Mt. Ozren, south of Doboj.

Intensified activity of Muslim reconnaissance units was reported southeast and northeast of the town of Maglaj, about 20 km south of Doboj.

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Bosnian Serb military sources said Muslims were preparing new attacks on Serb territories in the broader area of Doboj.

Two girls, aged four and ten, were wounded in the Muslim artillery attack on the Serb village of Cerovica, about 10 km west-southwest of Doboj, the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said.

SRNA quoted a statement by Bosnian Serb military sources as saying that the Muslims launched two artillery attacks on Doboj and adjacent settlements on Tuesday afternoon.

It quoted Bosnian Serb army sources as saying that Muslims on Tuesday launched from the demilitarized zone on Mt. Igman, overlooking Sarajevo, an artillery attack on Bosnian Serb positions in the region of Cukla and Troskok.

The sources said that several shells hit a United Nations protection force checkpoint.

SRNA said that Muslim forces on Tuesday afternoon continued with artillery and small arms attacks on Bosnian Serb positions on Mt. Majevica in northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The agency said Bosnian Serbs responded to the attacks.

Tuzla 'Safe Area' Shelled

AU2211220894 Paris AFP in English 2134 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Nov 22 (AFP)—One person was killed and one wounded Tuesday evening in shelling of the UN- declared safe area of Tuzla, Sarajevo Radio said.

The UN Protection Force could not be reached for confirmation.

Renewed shelling of the northern Bosnian town started at around 9 p.m. [2000 GMT], the radio said.

Bosnian Serbs last week shelled the town five days in row, despite protests by the United Nations.

They were seeking to pressure government forces to allow some 30 of their soldiers marooned on a nearby hilltop to be allowed to withdraw. The soldiers, who are still believed to be on the hill, were left stranded after Moslem-led troops swept past their position in a successful drive.

The Serbs had earlier threatened to shell the city every hour, on the hour, until the soldiers were allowed to leave.

Strongholds Near Maglaj Hit

AU2311103594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Report by press center of Bosnia Operative Group]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The morning of 22 November seemed to herald a peaceful war day in the theater of operations of Bosnia Operative Group. But at noon Karadzic's renegades subjected defense lines in several parts of Zavidovici-Vozusa front to powerful artillery fire from all types of arms and later in the area of Vis launched ever fiercer artillery-infantry attacks [words indistinct] very important [word indistinct].

During three hours of fierce battles, the defenders with an active defense totally dispersed Chetnik attackers, inflicting great losses on them. At the same time, Maglaj defenders, in a swift response to the Chetnik attacks in (?Bila Ploca) and Bane, destroyed seven of the aggressor's strongholds and incapacitated 15 attackers.

The response of the Serbian aggressor was the same in Maglaj and Zavidovici. Hundreds of howitzer and mortar shells were fired at defenders, nearby villages, and the town of Maglaj itself. For the time being we have no reports of possible civilian casualties. [passage omitted]

Zvornik Shelled

AU2311095794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Report by Niaz Banjanovic from Information Service of 206th Chivalrous Brigade Zvornik]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Chetniks yesterday shelled intensely all civilian settlements on the free Zvornik territory all day long. Six civilians were injured, among them a 12-year-old who suffered serious injuries.

The defense lines of the 206th Chivalrous Brigade were shelled with howitzers, guns, [word indistinct], and mortars of all calibers; powerful artillery and infantry attacks on our defenders' positions in (?Kakovica) were carried out from early morning until evening. [passage omitted]

In the evening, combat activity died down and the night and early morning passed with the aggressor's usual provocations from infantry arms, antiaircraft machine guns, and antiaircraft guns on our defense lines, which remain firm and stable.

Serbs Claim Arms Sent to Muslims From Croatia

LD2211153494 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1430 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Banja Luka, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The 5th Corps of Izetbegovic's army in the Bihac area last night received a consignment of arms from Croatia in three helicopters, the information service of the Second Krajina Corps of the army of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] reported today.

The helicopters landed at Coralici airport near Cazin, and the weapons were immediately dispatched to units of the 5th Corps.

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According to Serb military sources, a fresh incident occurred in Bihac today which undermined current Muslim-Croat cooperation in the Bihac region. On the instructions of Major General Vlado Santic, former president of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Bihac and commander of the 101st brigade of the HVO, who fled to Zagreb, soldiers of Croatian nationality in the 5th Corps have refused to obey their corps commander Atif Dudakovic. They accuse him of having brought all the bad things to the Croats in this region. The military police of the 5th Corps reacted to this rebellion, and afterwards there was a mutual armed settling of accounts in which people on both sides died.

Otherwise, Muslim forces suffered fresh defeats and new losses in the vicinity of Krupa na Uni during today's fighting on the Bihac- Krupa front. On other parts of the front in this area Muslim actions were unsuccessful, although there were attacks, especially on the Grmusa-Grabez plain.

Documents Indicate Serb Army Going 'Downhill'

AU1811142294 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 94 p 15

[Article by S. Cehajic: "My 'Serbian Republic' Is Shaking"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is clear that things are going downhill for the Serbs. One of the indicators is a diary seized from a young officer of the so-called army of the Serbian republic, in which there is this entry for 25 September 1994: "1st Krajina Corps—5,400 casualties," and later "12 dead, 50 wounded soldiers," which refers to the Serbian losses only that day alone. The diary was seized during clashes near Gradacac in October. This Serbian corps covers 50 percent of the presently occupied territory.

They Steal, Drink, and Smuggle

At the beginning of the war, the basic motive of the Serbian occupation hordes was looting. But the seizure of new land stopped a long time ago, so there is no longer any possibility to rob rich Bosnian villages and towns. The budget from which Mladic's soldiers have received their monthly salaries is empty, as is also confirmed by Mladic's letter to the chairmen of the so-called parliament and government of the Serbian republic. The 1st Krajina Corps forwarded this letter, for information, to subordinate units under the "highly confidential" document no. 262-1/94 dated 24 July 1994. "As a special problem that influences the morale of the army" Mladic mentioned the "problem of the regularity, the amount, and the way the soldiers are being paid." Mladic wrote that by 24 July 1994 his soldiers had received salaries only for the first three months of 1994, in other words payments were over three months late. In places where there are no Serbian dinars, soldiers get government bonds payable after 18 months. Mladic stated that his soldiers "had understanding for the objective difficulties," but that "they were irritated by things that degrade the position of the soldiers." As proof of this, he claimed that "the employed" of Sokolac [near Sarajevo] had received their June salaries in the first half of July, whereas soldiers had still not received their April salaries!

The forgiving and diplomatic tone that Mladic uses in the first half of the letter disappears in the second. He wrote that soldiers were refusing to obey orders and they were arbitrarily leaving the front lines and refusing to take part in combat." Since their position is horrible, the soldiers try to leave the army and find a job with a company or at the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Mladic even points out that "there is an increasing number of trivial and serious crime in the army."

Funding is not the only problem and not the only cause of the problems in the Bosnian Serb army. The foundation of their army is shaken. The inspection board of Mladic's general staff spent some time in the area controlled by the unit "Municipal Defense of Doboj." Apart from Mladic, General Momic Talic, the commander of the 1st Krajina Corps, General Bosko Kelesic, chief of staff of that corps, and Colonel Vladimir Arsic, the commander of the Doboj defense unit, were also very pessimistic.

Serbs Do Not Have Reserve Positions

The most important element in commanding direct clashes does not function in Mladic's army. The command system, divided into the command of platoons and companies, is either bad or does not function at all. Serbian soldiers are therefore "incapable of acting and performing combat activities on their own." Serbian soldiers at the front lines are apathetic because "they have poor intelligence about the enemy," and their reconnaissance units have not infiltrated the rear of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina at all. They can perform no terrorist or sabotage actions, which—according to the Serbian generals—Bosnian soldiers do every day. The Serbs have no reserve positions, nor do they have feigned combat positions; their weapons are becoming useless because the soldiers are not distributed according to the VES scheme [expansion unknown]. The most interesting are Mladic's and Talic's conclusion that "unit commanders do not go into the field for 10 months at a time; they do not talk to soldiers; they do not check whether their soldiers are in the condition to carry out combat operations."

An analysis of Arsic's Doboj defense unit provides more information on these problems. The analysis was made under the title: "Experiences From Muslim Offensive Combat Activities; Mistakes and Weaknesses of the 1st Krajina Corps Units," under the "highly confidential" document no. 4017-1 dated 17 August 1994. It was sent to tactical groups and chiefs of local staffs. It points to the superior position of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the field and to the fact that it plans operations for

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months. Arsic's analysts stress that their units are, on the other hand, completely uninterested in everything which happens around them. It is rather difficult to believe, but the analysis contains the following statements:

Commanders In the Rear

"The units are unfit and therefore subject to any kind of surprise, especially if the enemy appears from the back of their own defense lines—instead of fighting, they flee in panic, leaving behind their personal weapons and other combat equipment as well as their wounded comrades in an attempt to save their own lives, which can be most easily lost in this way." It is further stated "that everything the Serbs know about the enemy is obtained by using field glasses or by eavesdropping on enemy radio. It is repeated that the lowest commands do not function. Referring to Arsic's staff, it is stated that a company's commander is usually stationed in a comfortable facility two or three kilometers from the front line, so that "when it comes to an attack he is not where he should be, he is far away from his soldiers, so that they reach him fleeing from the field of battle more quickly than he can reach them on the front line to organize the defense." The same is true of battalion commanders.

Arsic's analysts admit in this report that the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina is succeeding—by infiltrating two or three sabotage groups up to battalion strength—in breaking Serbian "battalions, even brigades," seizing most of their weapons and ammunition and "worst of all, killing Serbian soldiers, as has been the case in Vijenac, Vlasic, near Donja Brka, etc."

The author of a report written on the 6th Sanska Brigade, which was decisively defeated in the latest clashes near Gradacac, claims that 10 percent of the soldiers of this brigade are in prison for disciplinary offenses, and that another 10 percent are absent from the front lines. The same author writes about one of the soldiers: "He comes to the trench drunk, drinks in the trench, and is drunk when he leaves the trench."

This short introduction to Serbian documentation seized supports the theory that the Serbian military machine is on the road to defeat. Naturally, the Chetniks must not be underestimated, but the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina should slowly, thoroughly, and patiently turn their stumbling to its victory.

Spanish Colonel on Bosnian Positions, Mostar

BR2211135994 Madrid ABC in Spanish 20 Nov 94 p 46

[Report by Ramiro Villapadierne, correspondent: "The People Would Throw Themselves Down in the Road to Stop Us From Leaving"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Colonel, the Serbs are firing on 41 Brigade near the airport." Colonel Garcia Almenta asks them to measure the time between each explosion. As commanding officer of the Extremadura detachment, the colonel yesterday allowed a journalist to enter an "active zone" for the first time. Here on Mount Udric, Spanish Blue Helmets are supervising six HVO gun emplacements and watching the development of the Bosnian Army's struggle to liberate Mount Santo overlooking Mostar. "Who was it? Where are they firing from? How often?"—questions and answers compete for speed and accuracy. "It's been a good morning, hasn't it?"

The splendid fall morning enhances the view from Mount Udric to the northwest over the battered town of Mostar. Just opposite is the battleground of the Velez range where the regular Bosnian Army is trying to flush the rebel Bosnian Serbs out of Monte Santo (Sveta Gora) from where just last week they fired on Mostar cathedral, killing nine girls.

"We have two other observation points like this one." The colonel is not one of those people who likes to say "I have an observation point, I have my men, I have this and I have that." He says "we have" and "we are doing." "From there we can track their movements. There is a special operations squad on Mount Hum, over there to the right, and also to the north on Mount Svenici." Here, though, on Mount Udric, where the colonel has come to supervise the installation of the relief squad, it is not just an "active zone" containing a few artillery emplacements of the Croatian HVO, "it is also where we have our communications center linking us to the Dracevo battalion which is controlling east and west Mostar, the Divulje logistics unit, Medjugorje High Command, and with contingent HQ in Split and with Madrid in case there are any problems." The Colonel explains everything in detail, here on the slopes of Mount Udric, before realizing that perhaps he should not reveal all of this.

Explosions continue in the region of Mostar airport on the old battle lines between the Bosnian Army [Armija] and the Croatian HVO. "One every seven minutes, colonel." The colonel watches and checks for himself. The shells are falling to the right but the barracks have not yet been hit, he notes. He says he knows General Humo, commanding the 41st Bosnian brigade, very well: "He is a good soldier and a very charismatic man—a professional architect. He defended eastern Mostar against the Croats." Garcia Almenta immediately sees that Humo will have to be contacted because he knows he has, "there, behind the barracks," a tunnel where he hides a tank and a big gun: "He denies it, but we have watched them get it out at night."

"We have to be impartial. I watch and I know where these emplacements are that are firing, but I cannot go and tell the Armija or the Croatian HVO... Even though our hearts may be with some of those places. I can only say that the people are very fond of us. Look, there opposite, near the explosions—I have to go there now and try and get out an excavator. Then, over there, one of our units has been blocked by fighting for four days now and we have been unable to relieve them, although the people of Blagaj managed to get close to supply them

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with food. I can assure you that, with all the controversy surrounding our possible withdrawal, the governments should know that if we were to try to pull out the people would throw themselves down in the road to stop our vehicles leaving, just as they did in Mostar during the war."

With regard to the operation on the Velez range, unfolding like a film before our very eyes, the colonel is better informed than anyone. Has the Bosnian Army advanced or is it retreating? Serbs and Muslims conceal the information and do not even release figures for their dead and wounded. The only figures are provided by the heroic Medecins Sans Frontieres doctors Margarita, Ramon, and Javier who have been operating throughout the weekend at the eastern hospital and from where they have banished even the Blue Helmets. Colonel Almenta admits: "Yes, it appears there have been many casualties, especially this weekend, but they are advancing. Both sides are concealing their dead and wounded numbers. We know they have a second hospital, toward Bijelo and they only bring their most seriously wounded here."

The colonel has information to suggest that the Bosnian Army has already reached the top of the Velez range, although there are still Serbs on Sveta Gora. "It looks like they have pushed to within four kilometers of Nevasinje," some 40 kilometers to the east. If they then manage to go around Mount Velez and Prenj to the north they could come out around Konjic or even finally free Mostar from the shelling. "General Drekovic told me the other day that they had captured much of the artillery and four tanks that had run out of gas and which they had to destroy. That means they are capable of making lightning strikes of up to 20 kilometers but that they are unable to hold their positions and are having to retreat again. These are harassing operations since they are unable to definitively win ground. It also shows that if the tanks ran out of gas then things really are starting to go wrong for the Serbs and they can only use them as artillery."

"The Armija is doing what it can and is courageous. Now they are just getting organized. Even when I was 18 years old in Special Operations I would not have done it quite like that, but you have to realize too that the Armija is learning in a war situation." The colonel then sketches on the real-life map spread out before us how he would have conducted the operation: "There are the 44th and 45th mountain brigade. I have special units but no artillery cover. They have to attack by night as they are doing, but they have to be able to consolidate their positions." The colonel recalls the recent rout at Dudakovic in Bihac, and would not push too far forward without reinforcements.

"They have no artillery to hold their positions so they must have perfectly trained units and good officer communication which can move in under cover of night and hit a series of targets and consolidate in that way. If a position cannot be held, and that means being able to defend it, then they must fall back to the next. Between raids they need to agree on meeting points and possible invasion points. However, I believe that this is just the start. Now the two military leaders have asked me to arrange an exchange of prisoners, so the attacks will die down a little. However, General Drekovic (head of the fourth Armija corps) has told me that the great offensive has not yet begun. He says he has located "his" tank from when he was captain in the tank regiment, that he has already smelled it on the other side (of the Velez range), and he is going to fetch it back."

Coric Comments on Crime in Herceg-Bosna

AU2211105694 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 94 p 7

[Ivan Sabic interview with Bosnian Croat official Valentin Coric; place and date not given: "I Do Not Wish to Be at War With Reporters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The name of Valentin Coric, minister of interior of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, was often connected with the already forgotten scandal concerning attacks on press reporters in the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, caused by the statement "we are at war with our own mass media" and the claim that most press reporters were on the other side. This was why we talked to Mr. Coric. We started the interview by asking him to comment on these events from a certain distance in time and to say if he thought that the reporters really were on the other side.

[Coric] In the many comments on this, certain statements were falsified, such as that Coric was declaring war on the press. I do not have the remotest desire to argue or be "at war" with the press, since I am not one who likes to argue and because I believe it is very important and very good that most of them do their jobs professionally and I have many acquaintances among them.

However, as a Croatian soldier, I am obliged to say that it is an incompetent or fraudulent reporter who, for instance, does not see seven dead Croats from Livno who gave their lives defending Mostar, but rushes to object that, "while their bodies were still warm", their commander, a Croat from Livno, is at the same time commander of the police station in Grude, thus trying to cause bad blood among people in a distasteful and impudent way, and making it equal with the former times by saying that "we used to be commanded in Grude by people from Nevesinje and Gacko, and now it is people from Livno." Some used to weaken us by making divisions into Herzegovinians, Dalmatians, and Istrians, and now, while the issue of the entire Croatian body politic is being resolved in such a painful way, they cannot see further than Livno and Grude, and are making us weaker, from such important positions, by dividing us into people from Livno, Grude, Mostar, and so on. To write in this way or talk on the radio to me

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means inflicting great damage on the Croatian cause and really being "on the other side".

The Crime Problem Blown out of Proportion

[Sabic] On the same occasion—the session of the chamber of representatives—you said that a blind eye was being turned to a disaster, and that this, if continued, could lead to a chaotic situation. What disaster did you have in mind?

[Coric] I was talking about the situation that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina were in. The appearance of the representatives from Vares, central Bosnia, and Bugojno, caused me to establish that we were on the brink of a disaster. It is a disaster that over 20,000 Croats have left Bosnia-Herzegovina since the Washington Agreement was signed, and at the same time no one has returned to his home.

Before this session, we all talked about these facts and the generally difficult position of the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina in a rather shy way. We were afraid to speak because we were afraid of being accused of being enemies of the federation. On the contrary, there will be no federation if we keep silent about these facts. To be silent and not take specific steps to stop the moving out at that moment seemed to me to be taking the road to disaster.

[Sabic] There is frequent talk of widespread crime in Herceg- Bosna, and it is also frequently expected of the interior ministry to put an end to this situation. Is the ministry capable of doing this?

[Coric] It is my personal impression that this situation is being blown out of all proportion. This is usually done by those who want to divert attention from their own mistakes and personal responsibility, as well as exponents of organized crime, their intention being to hamper the forces that are fighting to prevent the former way of "accumulating" money fast, often by breaking the law.

Another reason why crime is being mentioned is the state of war itself, which has brought along the disintegration of authorities at all levels, and at the same time an attempt to establish new authorities, trying to establish the state of law and order. In the municipalities with mixed populations struggles have been going on for companies, material goods, buildings, vehicles, and so on. Those who were part of the authorities on our side have often been unjustly accused of crimes, while they were most often doing whatever was necessary to provide everything necessary for defense. Some of them made great profits, but they are a great minority compared with those who played crucial roles in the defense of Croatian territories.

[Sabic] Still, it has been assessed that the main problem is widespread organized crime. What can you tell us about this?

[Coric] The mention of large-scale crime, committed by those who used the state of war to their advantage and seized immeasurable fortunes, is justified. This becomes evident when you compare their taxes with capital that they did not possess before the war, which is now evident to the ordinary citizen. I hope that these people will one day answer to those who really gave everything, including their lives, to the historic task. In police business we are often reproached for not arresting these people, while struggling against individuals who, for instance, steal black-and-white television sets.

[Sabic] It seems that the reselling of stolen cars is a big problem. Have you achieved any results in fighting that "business"?

[Coric] Organized car theft and the selling of these cars in these areas are a consequence of the international crime syndicates. This situation is often blamed on the people from these areas, and the responsibility is demanded from the authorities of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna. In solving this problem, we closely cooperate with the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Croatia and Interpol, and we have achieved some concrete results. However, the interior ministry cannot put a stop to this situation without the cooperation of other bodies of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, and it cannot be the only one to bear responsibility for the present situation.

We Do Not All Bear the Same Responsibility

[Sabic] Many have asked—you have too, at a chamber of representatives sessions—if anyone had ever been held responsible for anything in Herzeg-Bosna, which is in fact a very harsh accusation of the police and the judiciary. In your opinion, who is not doing his job as he should?

[Coric] Some European countries have centuries-old traditions in police business, and they are still not doing their jobs satisfactorily, and we are often expected to have a state of order as if we were living in a country with such a long tradition. We would be glad to let them have our positions, as they would soon realize what it is all about. I am not saying it could not be better, but I do not understand the view that everything is the police's fault.

When I spoke about responsibility in Herzeg-Bosna, I was thinking of the tragic consequences of the war, of the mistakes that we make, which are often not mentioned, as well as the good results in certain spheres. It seems that we all bear the same responsibility, but I say that we do not. The consequences of bad work are often tragic for general Croatian interests. Responsibility is not only measured by the months or years spent in prison. We are primarily responsible to our consciences, the people, and God, which some tend to forget. If certain individuals were aware of this, their personal interests would not be put before the general ones, which has contributed to our tragedy becoming even greater.

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[Sabic] Personnel and material equipment are the basis of successful activities. Are you satisfied with the conditions in which the interior ministry of Herzeg-Bosna has been operating? What is the influence of the personnel and material potentials on the efficiency of the ministry?

[Coric] Professional staff, as well as the adequate material and technical equipment, primarily communications systems, information systems, and vehicles, are the main preconditions for professional police activities, from operative and preventive roles to activities in cases of disturbance of the public order, or finding and arresting those guilty of the most serious offenses. Having inherited the situation from the former system, in which there were very few Croats in the police force, we were forced, in the process establishing and organizing the interior ministry of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, to pay due attention to the selection of good, young people, most of whom had been members of military units, and to their education for various police business, so that eventually we would have the personnel to guarantee lawfulness and professionalism at work.

[Sabic] What about the situation concerning the material and technical equipment?

[Coric] Although much has been done about the material and technical equipment of the interior ministry of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna, we still lag far behind the conditions necessary for good and timely work. The police are expensive in any system, but without modern, sophisticated equipment, there can be no professional work in the eternal struggle between the police and the criminals, who also try to introduce innovations in their criminal activities. Communications systems, crime-detection equipment, forensic equipment, radar, and breath-tests: These are things without which police work is unimaginable at present.

Unusual Headquarters

[Sabic] There is a somewhat unusual institution in the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna—the headquarters for the prevention of illegality. Why was it established? Is this a sign that the interior ministry is not doing its job? Namely, there have been rumors that the headquarters was founded to allow the military police to become involved in the work that is under the jurisdiction of the interior ministry.

[Coric] The headquarters for the prevention of illegality was founded by the presidential council of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna to introduce law and order throughout the territory. The tasks of the headquarters are to monitor, coordinate, and channel the work of the Herceg-Bosna ministries in charge, primarily that of the interior, finance, and justice, as most responsible for law and order, and the personal safety and the safety of property. This does not mean that the essence of the forming of the headquarters is one ministry's attempt to meddle in the jurisdiction of another, since these ministries cooperate, each within its jurisdiction, in implementing Operation Pauk [Spider].

The role of the interior ministry and the police in Operation Pauk is great; from the level of police stations and police departments to the sectors and departments in the interior ministry. In that sense, firm professional cooperation has been established between the members and departments of the civilian and military police, which has resulted in the clearly positive results in general security and the fall in crime in the Croatian republic of Herzeg-Bosna.

[Sabic] Among many comments on the progress of the establishment of the federation, someone once said that it should be ensured that Croats serve their prison sentences in Croatian prisons. Is there any specific reason for considering this at present?

[Coric] The interior ministry is one of the links in the chain of instituting legal processes following offenses. The job of the interior ministry ends with bringing penal or criminal charges to the judicial authorities. Ending the procedure by pronouncing sentence and convicting the offenders is within the jurisdiction of the ministry of justice and administration. Therefore, the interior ministry is not in charge of determining what prisons are to be established or what they will be like. However, since you asked, I will tell you that my opinion is that prisons cannot be divided according to ethnic affiliation. Prisons are institutions in which offenders against the law serve their sentences, regardless of their ethnic, religious, ideological, or any other affiliations.

Important Tasks in Kupres

[Sabic] The Herzeg-Bosna police have recently been engaged in quite a number of "extraordinary activities", one of which involved the establishment of a new police station in Kupres. Are you satisfied with what has been done?

[Coric] With the liberation of Kupres there emerged the need to restore the functions of the civilian authorities, which included the establishing of a police station in Kupres. I am very glad that a police station of the interior ministry of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna has been established in Croatian Kupres. The people who work there are facing a big job to establish law and order so as to guarantee the safe return of the people who were expelled.

[Sabic] Did the police take part in the fighting? Was there any cooperation with the Interior Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina in that respect?

[Coric] The special police force of the interior ministry of the Croatian republic of Herceg-Bosna is a well organized, trained, and equipped formation. It took part in Action Cincar, in which it contributed greatly to the liberation of the Kupres plateau, and was first to enter Kupres, along with members of certain elite forces of the defense ministry. Unfortunately, we suffered casualties—two killed and 12 wounded.

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In the course of the operation there was no special or particular cooperation with the Interior Ministry of Bosnia-Herzegovina, as the entire operation was conducted and coordinated at the level of the defense ministry headquarters of the Croatian republic of Herceg- Bosna.

Prlic Interviewed About Federal Army Issues

AU2211102594 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Nov 94 pp 4-5

[Interview with Dr. Jadranko Prlic, Bosnian Federation deputy prime minister and defense minister, and prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, by Stipe Pudja, in Sarajevo; date not given: "Only the Federal Army Can Stop the Aggressor"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The various views of the proposed Law on the Defense of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation have caused great polemics at the latest session of the Assembly of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was the reason we talked to Dr. Jadranko Prlic, deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and prime minister of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, several days after the session, in Sarajevo.

[Pudja] What are the differences in view concerning the proposed Law on Defense between the Croat and the Bosniak-Muslim side?

[Prlic] There are differences in principle, which are partly legal, related to the interpretation of the Constitutional provisions and the relations of the republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The concept of the Croat side is that the federal army be made up of two components: the HVO and the Bosnia- Herzegovina Army, with a joint command on a parity basis.

[Pudja] The Bosniak-Muslim side supports not a joint, but united command, which the Croat representatives would not accept; is that correct?

[Prlic] We believe that there is no basis for united command at this moment. On the other hand, bearing in mind the federal character of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there should be two components of armed forces, the Croat and the Bosniak-Muslim one, and we proposed that each citizen be able to choose in which of the two components he will do his military service, regardless of his ethnic affiliation.

We have not yet coordinated our positions on this issue, or on the exact title of the army. The Bosniak-Muslim side has proposed that it be called the Army of the Federation [Armija], and that it be united. Our proposal is that it be called the Army of the Federation [Vojska], since 'vojska' is a term we have in common, and it is not a loan-word.

The Insignia

[Pudja] What is next?

[Prlic] At the moment we are in the process of coordination. I believe that, under the pressure of the objective situation, fully observing the Federation Constitution and the Split Agreement, which are the bases for drawing up the Law on Defense, a solution will eventually emerge. I also believe that the drawing up of the Law on Defense, that is, its implementation, is the most critical moment since the federation has been established, since, in fact, the establishment of the federal army will also resolve the issue of the expenditure side of the federation budget, of all the financial and other regulations on the army, which is the greatest budget spender in the state of war.

[Pudja] When do you think this law could or should be passed?

[Prlic] It is difficult to say. As far as I am concerned, it could be done immediately. I have prepared the proposal, and we have to coordinate our positions.

[Pudja] Has it been decided what the insignia of the future federal army will be?

[Prlic] They will be like the federation insignia. A committee has been founded within the parliament, which will propose the federation insignia.

[Pudja] As minister of defense of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, do you have all the authority you are entitled to in accordance with the law?

[Prlic] I am defense minister of both the Republic of Bosnia- Herzegovina and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at the start I reached a gentlemen's agreement concerning the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, that all the operative jobs be carried out by my deputy, who is a Bosniak Muslim. We have to bear in mind that there are two identities on the free territory of the Federation: Herceg-Bosna, and the remaining part of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. I will take over all the operative and other jobs when we have constituted the Federal Army and established the Ministry of Defense of the Federation. At this moment I have control over the overall work of the Ministry of Defense at quite a high level as far as part of the logistics is concerned, part of coordination of activities.

Joint Success

[Pudja] Since you have been appointed head of the Ministry of Defense, a joint military success has been scored, primarily at Kupres. Is this a coincidence, or the result of joint activities, including your own?

[Prlic] With the establishment of the Federation and the coordination of certain activities, to which I probably also contributed, there have been some results that I would neither underestimate nor call beginner's results. I said at the session that I would guarantee success, getting out to the borders of the federation, under the condition that my concept of the Federal Army and the Law on

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Defense be accepted. If I am assigned the task of bringing the Armed Forces of the Federation to the Federation borders, I will do so, but I am asking for free play. I do not want political and other tricks, which are evident, and which have been going on for some time now.

[Pudja] Are you satisfied with the cooperation between the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

[Prlic] There is cooperation at the highest level, at the level of corps, that is, regional corps, and down to lower formations. The degree of coordination of activities is increasingly high, which creates the basis for, qualitatively, the greatest step forward—the forming of the federal army.

[Pudja] What contribution has the work of the Joint Headquarters of the HVO and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army made?

[Prlic] The Joint Headquarters has certainly made a contribution, and I would like to commend the people who are engaged there. However, I would like to mention that the Joint Headquarters does not have the command control over the HVO formations. They are only a form of mutual coordination. Only the legal inauguration of the Joint Headquarters as the central command office for both military formations will make possible the true role that the Joint Headquarters is supposed to have in accordance with the Split Agreement and the overall political agreements.

A Just Solution

[Pudja] What are your forecasts and assessments regarding the Serb offensives in the free territory of Bihac?

[Prlic] The assessment is that this Serb offensive will intensify. The effects of the enemy activities will be absorbed to the extent to which the Bosniak-Muslim side is prepared for the establishment of the federal army, and everything that is included in the Federation Constitution.

[Pudja] Could peace and a just solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina be achieved, and in what way?

[Prlic] There is only one solution that can be just. It would stop the war and lead to peace. Anything else will only reproduce the war. I believe that the position we are in now is the best since the war began, and that it is possible to reach a final solution, which can be better than expected—naturally, if the process is conducted in an appropriate way. The Serbs must understand that it is not possible to end this war controlling 70 percent of the territory. The offer they have been given by the Contact Group, including the proposed constitutional solution, is the maximum that has been offered. Those who refused it, not to mention other things, will bear the historical responsibility toward their people.

[Pudja] Let us return to the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the anticipated change at the head position in the Federation, which is expected to occur on 1 December this year. Will there also be other changes?

[Prlic] I have my personal position concerning this automatism anticipated by the Constitution. Namely, I believe that it is unacceptable that Bosniak Muslims be at all the head positions in the Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. From 1 December, the president of the Presidency, the president of the Federation, and the prime minister will all be members of the same ethnic group. We believe that an appropriate political intervention should be carried out in that respect.

Alija's Mandate

[Pudja] If I am not mistaken, on 18 November it will be four years since Alija Izetbegovic has been president. Could there be any changes in that respect?

[Prlic] I do not believe there will be any changes there. If it were possible, they would have occurred long ago. Speaking for myself, I believe that the entire situation is completely anti- constitutional. President of the Presidency, Mr. Alija Izetbegovic, was appointed for a year, with the possibility of the mandate being extended for another year. Regardless of what legal formulations were sought to try to justify this situation, I find this solution anti-constitutional.

[Pudja] What is the attitude of the Bosniak Muslims toward Herceg-Bosna at present?

[Prlic] It has been increasingly positive, which was evident during the Assembly session, too. Herceg-Bosna is the more vital part of the free territory of the Federation, and its overall financial, legal, educational, security, and other systems are already elaborated, which is characteristic of any organized state mechanism. I believe that all the remarks concerning the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna can now assume a completely different character. Let us try to compare any element of the system functioning within the framework of the territory controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the territory under the control of the HVO, and it will become evident which system is more vital, where investments have been greater, where the people live better.

[Pudja] How long will the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna exist?

[Prlic] It will exist until the moment the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the peace agreement for Bosnia- Herzegovina are fully implemented. To be precise, as long as the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina exists with its internal organization, the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna will exist also. I do not wish to question the international recognition of the borders of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; I am thinking exclusively of the internal organization, of the territories that are at present controlled by the HVO, that

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is, the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and the territories controlled by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, that is, the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Orao Jet-Engines Plant Marks 50th Anniversary

AU2111102694 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE (Bosnian Serb) in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 94 p 19

[Zeljka Domazet report: "On the Wings of Jet Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 30 October this year the Orao aviation institute in Rajlovac celebrated its 50th anniversary. Among the guests at the celebration of this important anniversary, which took place the previous day in Ilidza, were the Right Reverend Nikolaj, metropolitan of Bosnia, many business partners from all the Serbian states, as well as representatives of the Army and districts of Serbian Sarajevo. On that occasion the most deserving individuals, firms, and state institutions for the cooperation and success of this giant were presented with models of the institute, plaques, and letters of gratitude. Because of the war and because of their duties, many of those invited were not able to come and modestly celebrate this anniversary of successful work, business relations and progress together with Orao's workers. However, they did not miss the opportunity to send telegrams and congratulations on the anniversary. There is certainly a reason for those letters of congratulation, because although situated almost on the front line, this firm has been scoring considerable business successes during these three years of war. The anniversary was a reason for all the participants to review the past period, as well as the plans for the future.

From Workshop to Giant

On 30 October 1944, while World War II was still in full swing, a workshop was founded in Pancevo, where aircraft and engines owned by the former army at the time were being repaired and overhauled. That small workshop did complete overhauls of the aircraft that flew in the last months of World War II, when the final battles for the liberation of Yugoslavia were fought on the Srem front, until the final victory over fascism. The development of this workshop, which was transferred to Rajlovac in 1949, went by stages. Until 1945 Orao overhauled aircraft and engines, while from 1945 to 1965 the firm took up overhauling the piston engines that the former Yugoslavia had at the time. After 1962 a new stage in the development of this institute began, and it rose to a technologically higher level. In that period the firm started overhauling and repairing U.S.-made jet-propulsion engines. From 1962 to 1970 the firm took up overhauling more contemporary aircraft. At the beginning they were American jets, while shortly afterward Orao started overhauling Rolls-Royce engines. Those are engines of the Viper 226 531 type, installed in the Galeb and Jastreb aircraft. A particularly important period in the development of Orao came after the 1970's, when it adopts the method of overhauling Russian-made jet-propulsion engines used for MiG aircraft. In 1975 the firm started the production of jet engines under the license of the English Viper 632 and 633 engines used for more contemporary aircraft like the Super Galeb and Orao. After that Orao quickly developed through investment in laboratories and research capacities. New equipment was bought, and more elaborate processes of controlling and maintaining adopted. In short, the firm's priority and important task is high quality.

"Aviation is a branch of the economy where quality is one of the most important elements. At that time we reached the very top in technology and became one of the 11 countries that manufacture engines. We have succeeded in maintaining that level even today, and as such we are surviving," Milan Prica, director of Orao aviation institute, says.

Experts—the Greatest Asset

When this war started, the first task of the employees at Orao was to protect equipment, the works and employees. They have succeeded in that for the most part, although Orao was severely attacked and bombarded. Over 350 shells hit the institute alone, because it was attacked by people who knew very well what was to be found and where in the firm. All the male employees, capable of serving in the army, are fulfilling their duties both in the firm and on the front lines, in the army of the Serbian republic. In clashes on the front line 20 Orao workers have been killed, while 40 have been seriously or lightly wounded.

"What is most important and what we have managed to preserve is manpower. The core of our experts is still here, and thanks to that fact we shall succeed in continuing the developmental path of this giant. When the war is over, we shall revive international cooperation and we shall again follow the path that will make possible for us to stay among the European and world top aviation industries," Orao's director Prica underlines, and adds: "Orao aviation institute must have experts and my greatest pleasure is to say that we have young people who have a modern approach and attitudes regarding education and work. That is Orao's greatest asset. Actually, in this business of ours we have everything that is necessary for such an industry. That is our asset and strength. We own more than anyone else in the Balkans," Prica says.

Which is to say, Orao has everything that the Serbian people, the Serbian states need, and probably also what Europe might need. There is no such technology in the field of overhauling and manufacturing of jet engines that Orao has not adopted. It has been admired by Americans, Englishmen, Russian and French, because Orao's experts have developed in one place everything that those countries have developed in 20 to 30 separate firms.

Adoption of World Standards

"Europe and the rest of the world are well aware of everything that Orao does and means, and they also need

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us as such. I think that our strength lies precisely in the fact that we are not designed to manufacture any product that the Serbian republic needs [sentence as published]. We have proven that in this war as well. We have fulfilled all the demands made by our state and military institutions, particularly those regarding health care and other fields necessary for the maintenance of both machinery and consumer goods. Most important of all is the fact that we use technologies that can be definitely assessed as the vanguard of the 21st century. Even before the war, as well as now, we have issued verifications for all the products manufactured in the Serbian republic, and also for many others manufactured in other Serbian states. Our laboratories were and still are first class, so that now we are the main support for the Institute for Measures of Precious Objects [as published], Meteorology and Standardization of the Serbian republic, which is undoubtedly a great thing. Our equipment for work in that field alone is worth over 5 million dollars, and it actually supports international trends and standards, that is, ISO [International Standards Organization] 9000, 9001, 9002, and 9003. Those who do not keep abreast with those standards are not competitive on the world market. We certainly are, because those standards, which are now widely utilized throughout Europe and the world should actually be given our name and surname [as published], while as far as our technology, quality, or organization are concerned, those standards are absolutely observed," Teodosije Kecman, technical director and deputy director general of Orao aviation institute, underlines.

There are Difficulties in the work because of the war, but the employees are making efforts to overcome them with far more elan, enthusiasm, and determination than in peacetime, without watching the clock. The engagement of young experts have considerably contributed to this, who right after the completion of their studies started work as engineers, and who have five or more years of pre- war work experience. Relying on a young workforce Orao has probably become the youngest firm in Europe with regard to its expert potential. Thanks to trust and the willingness to learn, all the tasks are successfully performed and accomplished. The strength of Orao is in tradition and efforts aimed at preserving it.

"Our potential, technology and equipment are such that we are already in the 21st century. We have production lines and projects that take us into the 21st century and ensure the growth and development until 2010. We only know that we cannot stop, that we shall be working and producing, and that Orao will grow and do business on both the domestic and foreign market. This is guaranteed by our technology, equipment and overall resources. The very fact that our current trend is the third generation of jet- propulsion engines, that we utilize technologies that enable us to manufacture any product in the field of mechanical engineering needed by the Serbian republic, means that there will be no difficulties for Orao. Particularly when one knows that our Romanian rivals have terminated their production, so we are the only manufacturers of jet-engines in the Balkans. We are not only manufacturers, but we also utilize all the technologies necessary for the production of jet-engines. And when you say that you manufacture jet-engines, it is clear to the world that you are capable of manufacturing any other product," Kecman says with visible satisfaction.

So, what makes Orao so successful is tradition, being a precondition for survival. After all, the world builds its future on tradition as well, and the employees in this giant know quite well how to promote it.

Article Views Role of Russian Mercenaries

AU1811161794 Ljubljana OSLOBODJENJE (European Edition) in Serbo-Croatian 3 Nov 94 pp 16, 17

[Article by Djuro Kozar: "Killers for 100 German Marks"]

[FBIS Translated Text] From the very beginning of the aggression against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic's vile army was helped by Russians who came here to kill—for money! The channels through which they came to Bosnia—via Moscow, Belgrade, and some of the training centers—have also been discovered.

In the past two and a half years, there has never been less than 2,000 or 2,500 Russian mercenaries on the territory of Bosnia- Herzegovina. They took part in almost all battles. Many of them were killed, but nobody claims their bodies, since General Mladic's headquarters is trying to hide the fact that those Russians came to Bosnia in the first place.

According to a statement from the recent session of the Government of the Republic and Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the relevant Russian state bodies will be informed about the death of their citizens: Oleg Stanislavitch Slavin, Georgiy Dimitrievitch Trehotk, and Yuriy Vladimirovich Satorov.

Belgrade-Moscow Plan

How come the Russians fought on the side of Karadzic's army?

According to OSLOBODJENJE sources, the participation of the Russians in the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina is a result of a concrete plan devised by intelligence services in Belgrade and Moscow. Already in 1991, during the war in Croatia, a delegation of the civilian and military Russian intelligence services led by Yevgeniy Primakov visited Belgrade. In cooperation with the KOS [Yugoslav Army Counter-Intelligence Service], it was arranged that a recruiting center for Russians who would go to Yugoslavia and take part in killing for money be formed in the Russian capital.

The Moscow center started working even before the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina. The center's

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manager was a man called Yastrebov, who was under direct command of the GRU, the Soviet military intelligence service.

Trustworthy GRU officers were secretly recruiting men in order to send as many mercenaries as possible to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of course, the men were promised a handsome pay by Russian standards. They were told to expect a relatively easy job in Bosnia, that Karadzic's Serbs had been fully equipped by the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], that they had already occupied the territory of Bosnia, and that the Bosnian Army had no weapons. They were most probably told to declare themselves as volunteers, if asked.

In order to perfect the deceit about their being volunteers, the so-called office of the "Serbian republic" in Belgrade issued a certificate to every Russian mercenary, confirming that they had joined the Chetnik army as volunteers. Each of those certificates was signed by Major Jovan Djogo.

Djogo is an experienced KOS member who worked for the military security service of the former JNA for many years (he was stationed at the "Marshall Tito" Army Center in Sarajevo and in Lukavica), and was transferred to the said office in Belgrade early in 1992.

Major Djogo's Certificates

A document (also signed by Major Djogo) found near the body of Russian mercenary Genadiy Prihotka proves that the participation of those killers was prearranged. Djogo wrote to a Colonel Kovacevic in a Han-Pijesak Army Center and said the following:

"In keeping with our agreement, we send you this volunteer- conscript Genadiy Prihotka, son of Dimitriy, born on 13 September, 1968, in Russia, permanent residence in Russia...." Then follows the serial number of Prihotka's passport and a demand that they take the "volunteer" and register him at the Han-Pijesak Army Center.

Before going to Han-Pijesak, mercenary Prihotka traveled from Moscow to Belgrade, from where he was sent on to the Pancevo Army Center. Pancevo is one of the orientation centers for those Russians, probably the largest one. According to information presented at a Bosnia-Herzegovina Government session, Russian mercenaries were also assembled and trained at Petrovaradin, near Novi Sad, in Sabac, Vrginmost, Batajnica, Mount Tara, and in various centers located along the Drina River.

Mladic's Pale headquarters decided how many Russians would be assigned to the "Army of the Serbian republic," and some documents indicate that the details were furnished by Major General Zdravko Tolimir and the above-mentioned Major Jovan Djogo. Mercenaries were subsequently proclaimed to be volunteers and sent on to the Chetnik army centers in Han-Pijesak, Brcko, Kalinovik, Lukavica, Bileca, Derventa, Doboj, and elsewhere. There, they were assigned to brigades and were given concrete assignments, the most important of which was to commit genocide against the Bosniaks.

Andrey Andreyev is one of several thousand Russians who fought with Karadzic's flock for money. His confession was published in the Russian magazine VIEDOMOSTI in the 17 May 1994 issue. The author of the article, the TASS agency correspondent from Zagreb, A. Pariskin, said the following in introducing his fellow countryman: "Andrey is—a wild goose...."

In his interview for VIEDOMOSTI, the mercenary shed light on many details of his "fighting" in Bosnia and gave an account of his dirty work.

"I was among the first Russians to come to war-torn Bosnia," Andreyev began. "The five of us came to Belgrade on 19 February, 1992. Another five Russians arrived by the end of the month. We formed a sort of a unit. The Serbs immediately sent us to a place near Visegrad. The main task of our unit was to spy on and 'cleanse' the locals. We did very well."

Andreyev also testified to tasks with which Russian mercenaries were entrusted:

"We would usually enter Muslim villages at nightfall, surround them, leaving only a narrow corridor, and then open fire. The Muslims would most often run away without firing a shot, and we burnt their homes so that they could have nothing to return to."

Andreyev was wounded in such an action. This is what he said about it:

"There is a hill above Visegrad. I think it is called Icy Mountain. The Serbs asked us to climb up there and make a loud noise, while they planned an assault on nearby villages. We ran into an ambush on that hill; actually, we were completely surrounded. My friend and I were covering our left flank until he was shot by a sniper, right in the neck. Then I was wounded as well...."

Andreyev spent the first year of the aggression against Bosnia- Herzegovina in Karadzic's army, but he did not say much about it. Rather, he went on to talk about January, 1993. He says that about 50 Cossack mercenaries came to Visegrad at that time. This is what he told the TASS correspondent about them:

"They were poorly dressed, wearing ragged pants and torn boots. One of them was an alcoholic, another an epileptic. In short, caricatures of Cossacks. At that time, there were 27 of us in our unit."

Describing the importance of the presence of Russian mercenaries among the Chetniks, he said: "We were a moral support to the Serbs, which was most important."

Hawk's "Emperor's Wolves"

Interestingly enough, of the five Russians who were first to join Karadzic's army, it was Andreyev who stayed the

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longest. Correspondent Pariskin asked him how he got to Bosnia in the first place. He said that he met with the Pridniestrovci [people from Dniester region] in Moscow. Their good friends did the paperwork for him.

"What were those 'good friends' called?" the correspondent asked.

"It was Yaroslav Yastrebov [Yastreb—Hawk] who organized it all," replied Andreyev. "He is well-known in several Moscow circles. He named our unit the 'Emperor's Wolves.' Yastrebov was paid a lot of money to organize our involvement in Bosnia.

Where did the "wild goose" go after Visegrad? He said that he was transferred to a place near Tuzla in the course of 1993, to the area controlled by the "Serbian republic." The "cleansing" of the local population was still the main job of the Russian mercenaries. That is his term for genocide against the Bosniaks in north-eastern Bosnia. He said that his life in Bosnia boiled down to killing, the exodus of the Muslim population, rape, plunder, and getting drunk. When he got sick of that, he realized he had been there for too long, and that he had to find a new job. He deserted.

Why did he risk his life in Bosnia? Was it money, or was he eager to put himself to a test? Andreyev says he went to Bosnia believing that he would be all right there.

According to A. Paruskin, the Russian Embassy in Zagreb "gave its blessing to the errant Russian," and he returned to Moscow. The Russian correspondent says that not all Russian mercenaries had the same luck, for many of them were killed or wounded, and one of the "Emperor's Wolves" is awaiting trial in Split....

Some of those mercenaries said that the head of the entire operation, GRU member Yaroslav Yastrebov, has no problem finding and recruiting men, for they are eager to go as soon as they hear they would get paid in German marks [DM].

The first group of Russians, which arrived in Bosnia from Moscow via Belgrade early in 1992—and mercenary Andrey Andreyev was among them—worked for a pay of DM100 German a month! A year later, in 1993, the Cossacks arrived in area of Visegrad, and the Russians were shocked to hear that their pay amounted to DM400 a month.

The Cossacks Were the Most Expensive

Asked to explain this difference in pay, Andreyev said:

"The Cossacks obviously had a powerful 'sponsor.'"

That means that not all mercenaries from the territory of the former Soviet Union were paid from the same source. Every new group had its own sponsor.

Soon after the Cossacks arrived, the Russians received a pay increase. Consequently, Andreyev received DM200 every month. He was getting that much because he was the deputy unit commander. Their commander was getting DM250 and the others DM150 a month.

We will quote another chapter from the confession of mercenary Andreyev, which best portrays the destiny of the Russian mercenaries:

"In June 1993, one of our fellow fighters was killed—Michail. His ex-wife came to get his body. I was also wounded at that time. I was paid extra for that, and it was then that I decided to help her transport the body to Odessa, as that would give me a chance to give some money to my wife, so that she could raise our son.

Michail's ex-wife was surprised that she traveled this far to get as little as a few hundred German marks. Her ex-husband drank the rest of the money and forgot his relatives in Russia, like all other mercenaries.

Sponsors—Serb Emigrants

Who sponsored the mercenaries from Russia and several other countries to fight on the side of Karadzic's aggressor army?

Andrey Andreyev told the TASS correspondent that he knew they had sponsors, because they heard about them in Moscow, but that none of the mercenaries knew exactly who they were. International Serb circles in charge of those dogs of war obviously have a lot of German marks, dollars, and other currencies. The World Serb Community, with its seat in Geneva, was also involved in finding sponsors. The Swiss town is the center for collecting money for the pay of mercenaries from Russia and other countries.

Every time he went to Geneva for negotiations, war criminal Radovan Karadzic met with the officials of the "All-Serb Alliance," and one of the things they probably talked about was how to "finance Russian volunteers." In an interview for Pale Television in 1993, Karadzic also thanked the "All-Serb Alliance," which was helping the patriotic war of the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina; not only verbally, but also financially.

Therefore, the plan to include the Russians in "the Army of the Serbian republic" was very complex and did not miss a single detail: financing in Geneva, sending mercenaries from Moscow to Belgrade for recruitment, and fighting on the side of the Serbs.

Role of General Dimitrijevic

The so-called office of the "Serbian republic" in Belgrade, led by Momcilo Mandic, was very much involved in preparing Russian mercenaries on the territory of the so-called FRY for the performance of their duties in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mandic was assisted by the head of the Military Intelligence Service of the General Staff of the so-called Yugoslav Army, Major General Aleksandar Dimitrijevic. It is easy to see why they chose him. The recruitment of Russian mercenaries was the product of

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an agreement between the intelligence services of the Russian and Yugoslav armies.

Many of those Russians changed their names. And so a Yevgeniy of Odessa became Jevrem of Svilanjac [a village in Serbia], Victor from a village near Saint Petersburg was called Vicetnije in Bosnia- Herzegovina, with a permanent place of residence in Kraljevo.... Several thousand Russian hired hands had "valid identification papers" confirming they were "legitimate citizens" of the so-called FRY. Some Russians kept their real names.

Mercenary Oleg Stanislavich Slavin met with a tragic end. He was killed at the age of 24 fighting in the vicinity of Sarajevo. He had on his person a discharge order from the Koran-Pale military hospital, signed by Colonel Branislav Borkovac Koran. He was there for treatment in September and was killed in October, 1994.

It is not very likely that Slavin's relatives were informed of his tragic destiny. The army under General Ratko Mladic's command is not obliged to inform the relatives of mercenaries of their death. Having agreed to fight for money, those mercenaries chose to die an untimely and undignified death.

[box, p 17]

Who Is Miso Milosevic?

According to some information, the secretary of the World Serb Community, Misa Milosevic, plays an active part in the project of recruiting and paying Russians to fight on the side of Karadzic's army. He is the one who gives the directions that those "dogs of war" be paid from the account of the World Serb Community.

He is a native of Belgrade. He went to college in Geneva before he turned 20. He got a degree in economics and, in 1970, was awarded his doctorate in Paris. For years, he worked at the Geneva University Institute for Developmental Studies. He still lives in Geneva. He was a representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Somalia. Since 1990, he has been working solely on the "Serb cause."

Since he became secretary of the World Serb Community in Geneva, he has had close contacts with Serb emigrants throughout the world. Following his proposal, Switzerland became the center for procuring additional finances to help "Serb brothers fighting for survival in Bosnia."

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Martic Says NATO Plane Shot Down 21 Nov

LD2211131994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, stated today that in yesterday's NATO attack on Udbina airport one NATO plane was shot down.

In a statement for Serb Radio Sarajevo, Martic said, among other things:

"NATO forces first bombed our air defense systems. However, the air defense forces were in action and one plane was shot down, but they are keeping quiet about this."

"The pilot is on our territory and I believe that he will be caught today," Martic added.

He stressed that "the fact that NATO forces used means which are banned in international conventions, such as cluster bombs, is particularly worrying."

Martic on NATO Pilot

LD2211173794 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Let us hear what Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, said in response to this beastly and unprovoked attack by the NATO air force.

[Begin Martic recording] What happened yesterday is a purely vandalistic act by NATO forces, at the request of our Croat and Muslim enemies. This act is all the more cynical in view of the fact that the day before our representative, my special advisor General Mile Novakovic held negotiations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] representatives, namely Peters (de Burgh). They agreed that trucks could be placed on the runway at Udbina as a guarantee that no aircraft take off from there. This was done, but 24 hours after that, NATO aircraft took off and bombed the Udbina runway. Now I believe that this was used only to deceive and make our air defense passive.

NATO forces first bombed our air defense. Luckily, our air defense reacted and downed one plane, which they are concealing. The pilot is on our territory and I believe that he will be captured today. But the runway and civilian targets—the village of Visuc and other neighboring villages—were bombed so that there are casualties among civilians and damage to civilian facilities.

What gives rise to special concern is that these forces used weapons banned by international conventions, such as cluster bombs.

I would describe everything that happened as a request by Croatia and Islamic states to strike Serb positions. I think that this deed, this evil deed, has spoiled relations in the republic of Serb Krajina, that is, relations between people and UNPROFOR representatives. We reacted as reasonable people and, fortunately, nothing has happened to the UNPROFOR representatives. [end recording]

Martic Protests Air Strike

LD2311005894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0010 GMT 23 Nov 94

[Pool item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] President Milan Martic said Tuesday he had strongly protested to U.N. Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali and his envoy Yasushi Akashi.

He said that by undertaking air strikes NATO had committed an act of aggression because the bombs were dropped also on civilian targets and internationally-banned missile systems were used.

Martic said this after touring with Krajina Army Commander-in- chief Gen. Milan Celeketic the targets of the NATO air strike—Udbina airport and the surrounding villages.

NATO attacked Serb Krajina Monday after the U.N. accused Krajina air force of having bombed Friday and Saturday the town of Bihac, a U.N.-designated "safe area" in northwestern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA reported Gen. Celeketic as denying such claims and noting that an undeniable fact was being persistently overlooked and that was that Krajina air force had no such planes with which the Muslim positions were allegedly bombed.

He warned that Krajina's anti-aircraft defense was prepared to act if NATO attacked again.

"We will repair the damage on the airfield and its function will be restored, although we have other airfields too. There will be no problem for our air force to be used if need be," Gen. Celeketic said.

UN Spokesman in Knin Comments on NATO Strike

LD2211204594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2021 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—A spokesman for the United Nations protection force command in the Serb Krajina capital of Knin said Tuesday the NATO air strike would probably affect the peace process.

Alun Robert told a regular press briefing that the NATO air strike on Serb Krajina's Udbina airfield would also affect dialogue between the Serb Krajina and Croatia.

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He said the decision was taken early on Monday [21 Nov] and was covered by the U.N. Security Council Resolution No. 958 adopted before the strike.

Robert said the resolution implementation was applied retroactively and that this had very seldom been the practice of the U.N. Security Council.

Knin-based UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] command commander Gen. Rostislav Kotil and U.N. monitoring mission chief Kar Eliassen also attended the briefing.

Although UNPROFOR officials tried to respond to many questions some of their answers were contradictory.

Gen. Kotil said the Knin-based UNPROFOR command had not learned about the air raid until after it had already been begun, whereas Eliassen said U.N. military observers had been withdrawn from the confrontation line on Sunday for reasons of safety.

He said the observers had returned to their regular monitoring Tuesday and U.N. peacekeepers had returned to their daily duties of monitoring and enforcing ceasefire agreement between Krajina and Croatia.

Gen. Kotil said the NATO air strike on Udbina airfield was aimed at preventing further use of the airfield for combat mission purposes.

The Serb Krajina government has repeatedly called for deployment of U.N. observers on Udbina airfield and denied Muslim-Croat allegations that the republic of Serb Krajina was involved in the Bosnian civil war.

Instead, NATO warplanes bombed Udbina airfield on Monday.

Krajina Army Confirms Losses in Udbina Attack

LD2311104694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 23 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 23 Nov (TANJUG)—One member of the Serb Krajina Army was killed, two were wounded, five civilians were injured, and considerable material damage was inflicted—these are the results of NATO's air-strike against Udbina airport two days ago, the main headquarters of the Serb Krajina Army said today.

According to an expert commission, 44 fighter planes and bombers took part in the attack on Udbina airport and on the nearby villages of Visuc, Podudbina, and Josani. Some of the villages mentioned above are almost 10 kilometers away from the airport.

One NATO plane was downed after the attack in which cluster bombs, banned by international conventions, were used, the main headquarters of the Serb Krajina Army said.

Krajina Serb Official Predicts Croat Attack

AU2211133994 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 22 Nov 94 p 3

[Interview with Krajina Serb official Slobodan Jarcevic by Andrej Ivanji; place and date not given: "Croatia Will Attack Us at the End of November"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ivanji] On 21 November, the Croatian ultimatum expired. The "Serbian Krajina" has not signed the proposed economic agreements. Are further talks still possible?

[Jarcevic] Croatia quite frequently sets deadlines—either for us or for the UN Security Council via the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate in Croatia. The goal is to calm down the Croatian population and to exert pressure on the international mediators and the republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK). We want additional talks. Yet we cannot sign the economic agreements in the proposed form because this would mean that the entire RSK property would be administered by the ministries of the Republic of Croatia and their organizations. Thus, the RSK would actually be integrated into Croatia. Nobody can force us to accept that. The UN Security Council and the European Union are not telling the truth about the real situation. The truth is that this is the fifth year of the RSK's existence. To eliminate this fact, Europe would have to defeat us with NATO forces and hand my country over to Croatia. In all other cases, the RSK will continue to exist. Together with the Serbian republic in Bosnia, we can defy Croatia and Muslim Bosnia.

[Ivanji] Does the RSK army carry out joint operations with the Bosnian Serbs?

[Jarcevic] If Croatia should attack us, we will act as one state with a joint civilian and military leadership according to an agreement with the republic of the Bosnian Serbs. Approximately 440,000 people live in the RSK. We can mobilize 60,000 any time, and we have sufficient weapons and fuel. We take this Croatian ultimatum seriously. Zagreb procured masses of weapons last year. We expect the Croats to attack us as early as at the end of November because no better opportunity will arise for them. If they shell our towns this time, we will not spare Zagreb.

[Ivanji] Do you believe that Belgrade will intervene in that case?

[Jarcevic] Yes. If Croatian troops should invade the RSK, it would not be possible for Belgrade simply to stand by and watch.

[Ivanji] What are your relations with Belgrade like at the moment?

[Jarcevic] The economic embargo that Belgrade imposed against the Bosnian Serbs affects us to the same extent. We can neither import nor export goods. We are cut off by the territory controlled by the Bosnian Serbs. Thus,

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we are isolated. Belgrade is greatly interested in the normalization of relations between the RSK and Croatia. International pressure would ease and it would again be possible for Belgrade to resume economic relations with the world. Yet Belgrade will never put us under pressure and expect us to give up our state and to become part of Croatia. Only once we establish economic, cultural, and sporting relations with Zagreb and once the Serbian population can trust the Republic of Croatia can we discuss political agreements in a third phase. The experiences of the Serbian people with the independent state of Croatia [term used by the fascist Croatian state in World War II] have been very bad.

[Ivanji] Did RSK aircraft shell Bihac?

[Jarcevic] No. An UNPROFOR base is located next to our airport in Udbine, and the United Nations did not register any flights.

Serbs Lift Blockade of UN Base at Topusko

AU2211171194 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 22 Nov 94

[Report by Victoria Stegic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Topusko, Croatia, Nov 22 (AFP)—Croatian Serb forces Tuesday lifted a blockade of a UN base and allowed free movement to aid workers, ending retaliatory action for a NATO raid on a Serb-held airfield, UN officials said.

The UN Protection Force for the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) reduced the state of alert at the base at 6:00 p.m. (1700 GMT) Tuesday.

The Croatian Serb troops had surrounded the headquarters of the UNPROFOR northern military command in Topusko, just north of the Bosnian border on Monday, just after a raid by more than 30 warplanes of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

The NATO raid was carried out in reprisal for Croatian Serb attacks on the neighbouring Bosnian enclave of Bihac.

The Serb troops surrounded the base and prevented all UN military and civilian vehicles from coming in or out. They forced UN troops to leave the area only on foot to walk to a nearby hotel.

Serb guards in bullet-proof vests and helmets were posted inside and outside the hotel, and several tanks have been stationed around it and the UN headquarters.

Aid workers with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees were also prevented from providing aid to two camps housing more than 30,000 refugees who fled Bihac.

The base commander, Polish General Joseph Chmiel, held talks with local Serb military officials for two hours Tuesday and persuaded them to lift the blockade.

A UN official at the base told AFP the Serbs had accused UNPROFOR, which ordered Monday's NATO air strike, of being partial and said they had warned that if there was further NATO action, the local Serb population would "surely be more violent."

In related developments Tuesday, 180 Dutch peacekeepers who were to back up Bangladeshi troops stationed in Bihac were still being refused access to the enclave by Serb officials, a Dutch defense ministry spokesman said in The Hague.

The Dutch battalion is equipped with armoured vehicles and, contrary to its Bangladeshi counterparts, has officers capable of guiding NATO warplanes to their targets.

The spokesman said that 25 members of the battalion based in Simin Han, near the northern Bosnian city of Tuzla, are blocked in Zagreb. The Dutch battalion was to be deployed in Bihac before the end of November.

Krajina Leader Wants Abdic Victory, Peace

LD2211184094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said this evening that "the RSK still rules out the war option, but huge efforts need to be invested to calm people down following NATO air strikes against Serb territory."

Mikelic added that the RSK's main aim is to avoid the war option and that therefore the peace negotiations should be resumed immediately. "If the fighting stops in Bihac, we will have peace," Mikelic stressed.

He specified that "the only thing that could bring peace to the territory of the autonomous province of western Bosnia is, in fact, the victory of Fikret Abdic because he is absolutely ready to go for the peace option."

Mikelic said that this means that Abdic is in favor of peace with both Serbs in the RSK and Serbs in the [Bosnian] Serb republic. "The tensions will die down only when Abdic's refugees go back to that area."

He recalled that the Croats have recently been concentrating forces on the line of separation and warned that "all forces inclined to war should be removed from that area."

Krajina Army Says Croats Misuse UN Insignia

LD2211185694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 22 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Okucani, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina Army officials said Tuesday that Croats

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in the region protected by the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the town of Daruvar were using U.N. insignia.

Serb Krajina Army officials said Croatian police were using 74 patrol vehicles painted white.

The Krajina Army representatives said UNPROFOR in Daruvar, Croatia, had so far identified 55 white vehicles used by Croatian police in the region.

The Krajina Army command warned UNPROFOR officials to try to limit most of their activities to three main border crossings in order to avoid being confused with Croatian personnel.

UN Forces in Krajina Return to 'Normal Regime'

LD2311020894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0044 GMT 23 Nov 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—U.N. Protected area of Krajina sector south Commander Gen. Rostislav Kotil said Tuesday night the situation at the Czech U.N. battalion was normal and its members were not threatened in any way.

In a telephone statement to the Czech Television Gen. Kotil said that after consulting with the commanders of the other countries' contingents he had altered the order on heightened alert of the U.N troops in sector south.

Gen. Kotil believes that U.N. troops in sector south would shortly return to the normal regime.

Udbina airfield, which, together with the surrounding villages, was the target monday of NATO air strikes is in the sector south.

Gen. Kotil confirmed that two members of the Czech battalion whom the Krajina Serbs detained Monday for three hours after the NATO air strike were released.

The Czech battalion numbers 970 men, deployed in the very region around Udbina.

Air Force's Surveillance, Guidance Brigade

AU2111083294 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Nov 94 p 4

[Report by S. Dukic: "ZMIN—the Croatian 'Umbrella'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One of the key factors in a country's defense is the air surveillance and guidance system. In all war conflicts these systems are the primary target of enemy attack, as, with the destruction of the radar systems, control of a country's air space is lost, which makes it impossible to detect enemy planes or to guide one's own. Moreover, during war, the air surveillance and guidance service makes it possible for all army formations as well as alert systems to carry out executive guidance [izvrsno vodjenje].

Very little was known about the Air Surveillance and Guidance Brigade [ZMIN], the youngest and the most complex sub-system of the Croatian Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense. The development of the ZMIN system dates from the very beginning of the homeland war, the time the enemy air force had complete control over Croatian air space. Since the former army took away almost all the electronic and radar equipment when it withdrew, or else destroyed it, a special company in charge of maintenance and development, consisting of experts in technical sciences, started to repair the damaged equipment and acquire new equipment. Moreover, the ZMIN experts managed to make top-level systems by using various information, performing modifications, constructing radar and antenna-systems, and putting together the parts they had at their disposal. These new systems may be said to compete with the radar systems of the most modern armies in the world. One of them is the P-35 radar system, consisting of several types of radars, which the ZMIN experts put together, and which is now being employed. The range of this radar system is 300 kilometers.

The ZMIN brigade also has a modified NLG radar antenna, intended for the southern sector because of its capability to neutralize the influence of the sea. This radar antenna has a range of over 400 kilometers. In this part of Europe there is only one other antenna of this kind, which is in Italy.

With its modern equipment, the ZMIN brigade is at present able to cover the entire Croatian air space without difficulty, even the air space beyond the borders of Croatia. During the homeland war, the ZMIN brigade carried out a successful coordination with the anti-aircraft defense formations, and inflicted great losses on the enemy air force. With its radar stations and operational centers, the ZMIN brigade is spread over the whole of Croatia. Brigadier Ivan Konac, commander of the brigade, said that ZMIN had so much technology that not even the destruction of one of its formations by the enemy could cause substantial problems, which best speaks of the power and potential of this sub-system of the Croatian Air Force and Anti-Aircraft Defense.

The combat readiness of the entire technical potential of the Air Surveillance and Guidance Brigade was displayed at the tactical-technical meeting Radar 94, held on Thursday in the presence of the high officials of the Ministry of Defense and the Croatian Army.

Istrian Party Denounces Zagreb's Policy

LD2211111694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0944 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 22 (TANJUG)—Istrian Democratic Assembly President Ivan Jakovcic

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said Istria strongly opposed the "covert policy of the Croatian state leadership, which aspires to create Greater Croatia."

Istria, an Adriatic peninsula with ethnically mixed populations, is mainly held by Croatia, and partly by Slovenia. It was recently admitted to the Assembly of the European Regions.

Due to its marked regionalism, the population of the peninsula are viewed with distrust by Zagreb, since Franjo Tudjman's extremely nationalistic Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) is in power.

In an interview to the FERAL TRIBUNE, the opposition weekly which is published in the Adriatic city of Split, Jakovcic said the Istrian "consistency in the protection of minority rights has encountered a response from Europe."

Jakovcic said the policy of his party, which overwhelmingly won at the last regional elections, was committed to the decentralization of authority in Croatia. He said regionalism was the "inevitable future of Istria, and probably also of Croatia."

Jakovcic said Croatia did not actually want to become part of Europe—because "its admission to European institutions would mean the uncovering of many Croatian frauds—from political to economic."

He called the Croatian president's initiative to set up a committee for marking the 50th anniversary of anti-fascism in Croatia a "new hypocritical move."

Tudjman is notorious for his book which translates as "Wastelands of Historical Reality" in which he plays down Nazi and fascist crimes. In the book, he says that no more than 30,000 Serbs, Jews and Gypsies had been exterminated in the ustasha camp of Jasenovac.

The Croatian ustasha movement was a clerico-fascist paramilitary force responsible for killing hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies in the world War II.

Ustasha troops joined Nazi formations on Germany's eastern front in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

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Full Diplomatic Ties Established With Russia

LD2211212094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The government of the Russian Federation has established full diplomatic relations with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], it was announced in Skopje.

Yuriy Trusin, Russian charge d'affaires in the FYROM, handed a note to this effect to Stevo Crvenkovski, minister for relations with foreign countries.

Trusin told the state radio that, by promoting its diplomatic mission to the level of embassy, Moscow has confirmed its stance that "there is no security in the Balkans without a stable Macedonia."

Russia was the first among great powers to recognize, a year and a half ago, the new Balkan state under its constitutional name—the Republic of Macedonia.

New Assembly To Consider Vice Chairmen

AU2211163894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Nov 94 p 3

[Report by K.C.: "Election of Assembly Vice Chairmen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The second multiparty parliament has started its work. It has already held two sessions, and the new plenary session, instead of being held on 23 November as was announced, will take place on 24 November. At the first session the constitution of the parliament was made and the chairman of the Assembly was elected. At the second session the president of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] took a solemn oath and undertook his function as head of state for the next five years. The legislative power was not formed in its full number of 120 members of parliament because the mandates of only 116 deputies were verified. The verification of the other four will probably be made at the next session. Namely, some mandates were disputed after the "third election round." We know for sure that the seat of one of the four, Blaze Ristovski, is no longer in dispute at all, because the Supreme Court of Macedonia rejected the complaint against him. As for the other three—Arso Bozinovski, Abduljadi Vejseli, and Nazmi Malici—yesterday the Electoral Commission was expecting replies from the responsible court. After that the state electoral body should immediately meet and prepare a report that will be presented to the Commission for Verification, after which the Assembly can give the "green light" for the work of the parliament.

At the third Assembly session, according to some information, there will be three topics on the agenda. The first is a draft proposal on the number of vice chairmen of the Assembly, and the next one will be dedicated to the election of the vice chairmen. We have found out unofficially that there will be three vice chairmen, and it seems that they will be elected from the ranks of the SDSM [Social Democratic Party of Macedonia], the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity], and the SPM [Socialist Party of Macedonia]. There are rumors that Tito Petkovski from the SDSM will be one of the candidates, as well as Abdurahman Aliti from the PDP, and Kiro Popovski from the SPM. Nevertheless, the number of candidates will be subject to a previous agreement among the political parties. According to the provisional rules of the Assembly, the number of vice chairmen has not been definitely determined. There are rumors that there will be one or more vice chairmen. The proposal will be presented by the Assembly chairman. The electoral procedure for vice chairmen is the same as it is for the election of the Assembly chairman. The decision will be in conformity with the majority of the votes.

As we know, an Assembly body—the Commission for Elections and Nomination—was elected at the first constitutive session. At the session on 24 November the third topic on the agenda will be the draft proposal on a number of commissions. It is expected that the Legal-Administrative Commission will be formed, as well as the Commission for Finances and Budget, Commission for Economy, Commission for Political System. The formation of these bodies will open the road to view all legislative projects that will be presented to the government. Depending on the responsibilities, each one of the acts will be first viewed by the Assembly commission, after which they will be presented to the parliament. According to some announcements, the legal regulations that were in the parliamentary procedure and were not adopted are expected to be reviewed by the government with the aim of making them applicable to the needs of the country at this stage.

Report Views Process of Naming New Government

AU2211161694 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 22 Nov 94 pp 1, 3

[Report by S.Vs.: "Inter-Party Negotiations Have Not Started Yet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the constitution of the Assembly the deadline for giving the mandate for the formation of the government to a candidate of a party or parties that have a majority in parliament is 10 days. Practically, this means that Kiro Gligorov must nominate the leader of the new government by 29 November, and this individual will have to reveal his program and form the new government in 20 days. The present government will perform this function until the election of the new executive. Chairman of the Assembly Stojan Andov announced that yesterday he received information from the present prime minister, Branko Crvenkovski, that he is resigning from the position of prime

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minister, and following the procedure Stojan Andov has to send this letter to President Kiro Gligorov. According to Andov, the deadline for nominating the leader of the new government begins after President Gligorov receives a request from the prime minister for his release from duty. The difference between the constitutional regulation and the interpretation of the Assembly chairman is two days. In the meantime, the parties that will participate in the new executive power are postponing the start of concrete negotiatins, but there are announcements from the parties' headquarters that this process will begin toward the end of this week. According to unofficial information this postponement and tactics are due to expectations that changes will be adopted in the Law on State Administration and the Law on the Government.

Namely, the changes and annexes to the Law on State Administration provide that the Ministry of Urban Planning, Construction, Communiations, Transportation, and Ecology be split into two separate ministries: The Ministry for Urban Planning, Construction, and Ecology and the Ministry for Transportation and Telecommunications. The Ministry of Information will be transformed into a secretariat. But, as for the Ministry for Relations with Foreign Countries, we still do not know whether it will be divided. Since these proposals for changes and annexes were on the agenda of yesterday's session of the government, we can expect that the Assembly will soon discuss them, upon permission of the parliament commissions, of course, which are expected to be created on 24 November. After the adoption of the changes, the number of ministries will be clarified, and the number of ministers without portfolio will also have to be defined. All this might cause a prolongation of two days in the naming of the new head of government.

On the other side, there are some announcements that the head of state will not wait for the final deadline as defined in the constitution and that he will bestow the mandate for the formation of the government by the end of this week. Parallel this with the procedure for the annexes to the two laws, and the composition of the government cabinet will be clarified. As for the members of the new government, according to some information from the parties' headquarters there are consultations going on for the nomination of candidates for ministers. It is not yet known whether the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] will take part in the new executive power. Namely, the people from this party say that they have not yet decided about this and that they have not yet received a concrete offer. They also leave a possibility for the three coalition parties of the Alliance for Macedonia to negotiate with the NDP [People's Democratic Party] about the formation of the new government. The SDSM [Social Democratic Party of Macedonia] confirmed this to us and they also told us that the correlation of all parties that will participate in the government has not yet been defined.

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Party Negotiations Postponed Until Elections

AU2111180094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 21 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the electoral campaign there is no need for the coalition partners to burden themselves with negotiations about the new government program. This is how Gregor Golobic, secretary general of the Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS], today explained an agreement with Edvard Stanic, negotiator of the Christian Democrats, according to which the parties will continue negotiations about the new government program after the local elections.

According to Golobic, the budget memorandum for 1995 is to a great extent based on coordinated views of both parties, and the coalition is working normally. Regarding statement by Lojze Peterle, president of the Slovene Christian Democrats, that he does not wish to be a partner with the LDS, Golobic replied that the LDS is not forcing anyone to be its partner.

Golobic announced that the party will hold its program conference dedicated primarily to local self-rule on 26 November. [passage omitted]

Law Adopted on Closure of Krsko Nuclear Plant

AU2311112494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 22 Nov 94

[Report by Joze Skok]

[FBIS Translated Text] The adoption of the law on funds for financing the dismantling of the nuclear power plant in Krsko and for the disposal of its radioactive waste—proposed for parliamentary debate by deputies Branko Janc, Joze Lenic, Franc Lipoglavsek, and Franc Avbarsek—will in the long term enable the the process of closing down the Krsko nuclear plant to be initiated.

Today, during the last phase of the said law's adoption, certain additions were adopted that did not essentially change the law's provisions. Once an appropriate fund is set up for the dismantling of the nuclear plant—to be done in the two months after the law enters into force—the funds from a kilowatt hour of electricity produced in Krsko will begin accruing in it. According to present calculations this will be 0.61 tolars, therefore, 61 stotins for every kilowatt hour supplied to the Slovene and Croatian electricity boards. This, of course, means that neighboring Croatia will have to contribute its share to the long-term dismantling of the Krsko nuclear power plant, with which negotiations regarding the implementation of the law adopted in the Slovene parliament are currently in progress. In other words, for the time being, the adopted law is only binding on Slovenia.

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Federal

Lilic Speaks of Danger of War Spreading

AU2211213394 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Nov 94

["Highlights" from speech by FRY President Zoran Lilic to the European Parliament Commission for Foreign Affairs and Security in Brussels on 22 November—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] is vitally interested in peace and stability, both in its close neighborhood and in the entire Mediterranean and Europe. Since the beginning of the crisis, we have constantly advocated the search for peaceful solutions, we have been giving support to the peace process, and, at the same time, we have advocated the respect for the principles of equality and equal respect of the interests of all peoples of the former Yugoslavia.

By fully concrete steps in the negotiatory process so far, the FRY has proved that it strives earnestly for a permanent and just solution to all the problems that have come about with the secession of the former Yugoslav republics and, above all, to the solution to the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

On this occasion, I would like to remind you that the FRY has signed the Vance Plan for Krajina and is of the opinion that all further peace activities must proceed from respecting this plan, and that it has supported all five peace plans for halting the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, ranging from the Cutilheiro Plan of March 1992 to the most recent plan by the Contact Group. These several examples confirm that a persevering peace policy is our lasting orientation. This is where the reasons lie for treating the FRY as an equal partner and an unavoidable factor in peace efforts.

European institutions, such as this prominent house, should make their special contribution to such an approach by international factors and international community in general.

Mr. President, the UN Security Council has introduced sanctions against the FRY on the basis of an inaccurate presentation of the reasons for the civil war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. They represent the most drastic and most unjust form of pressure against a country and a people advocating peace. The culmination of the immorality and cynicism was the unscrupulous propaganda that the FRY and the entire Serbian people were subjected to through some (?world) media. In our case, the journalistic profession experienced a complete moral and professional breakdown. I hope that it is crystal clear now that there will be no peace on this territory without the lifting of the sanctions. Without peace, there will be no cooperation and no economic or democratic progress in the region. Without that, there will be no Balkan stimulus toward European integration. And European integration and the European welfare are the primary concern and obligation of this parliament. Therefore, our assessment is that the partial suspension of sanctions is certainly a positive step, but certainly not a sufficient step, if what is desired is peace and all the good that goes with it.

Let me reiterate on this occasion as well, that the FRY has met all the demands within the relevant resolutions of the Security Council. In my opinion, the European Parliament, being a representative of a large part of Europe, should resolutely advocate the lifting of the resolutions through which the sanctions against the FRY were introduced. Any extension of the conditions for lifting the sanctions is unacceptable. It is dangerous to give in to such demands, as such demands only encourage some forces that favor a war option and arouse extremism on all sides.

The same results are produced by one-sided acts by some members of the international community. This is a road leading to a certain escalation of the war and to prolonging the agony of all three peoples in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Despite all the difficulties caused by the embargo and the war in the neighborhood, the FRY has made an effort to ensure the economic and political prerequisites for creating a modern and developed pluralist society. This year, by a rational economic program, we managed to improve a very unfavorable economic situation. Without any foreign financial aid, we have cut the inflation and stabilized the national currency.

Despite many economic and other difficulties, dozens of independent social and trade union associations, parties, media, and so on are operating freely. The FRY has not been constituted on the basis of national exclusivity, but as a civic and democratic state based on the equality of all its citizens. This is not the case with any of the former Yugoslav republics or any other Balkan state.

In accordance with its constitutional setup and international obligations, the FRY is ensuring the highest standard and protection of human rights and the rights of members of national minorities, despite the fact that it is in a war zone and under sanctions. The rights that members of the national minorities have and that they have been exercising are considerably wider than those granted by the majority of European states.

Mr. President, it is a generally known fact that the civil war in one part of the former Yugoslavia broke out because of the armed secession of some republics of the former Yugoslavia. These republics, with support from abroad, in the forceful breaking up of the multiethnic federation as a model of the coexistence of several nations, disregarding the costs, saw a chance of imposing exclusive nationalist states.

On the other side, the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have preserved the continuity of life in the common state on one half of the territory of the former

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state. The continuity of Yugoslavia represents a contribution to democracy and integration in the Balkans itself and Europe as a whole. The citizens of the FRY have voted in favor of its continuity, thus confirming that it expresses primarily their historic, civic, national, and state interests. We believe that this is in line with the peaceful goals and stability in the Balkans and Europe.

The FRY will recognize all the newly formed states when the issues that are currently being discussed within the framework of the conference on Yugoslavia are resolved. Such a stand is in conformity with the original principles of the International Conference on Yugoslavia that recognition will not come about before the successful completion of the conference.

The normalization of relations is not a simple act, but a process during which a large number of issues and consequences that arose from the unilateral and forceful secession need to be resolved. The recognition of certain republics should follow as a logical result and as the crown of that process.

The prerequisite is that the republics that have seceded do not question the right of the FRY to the continuity of the international legal entity [medudjunardno pravni subjektivitet].

It is in the interest of the FRY, more than in the interest of any other country in the region, that the settlement of all problems caused by secession is found as soon as possible, and that the entire region embarks on a path of stabilization and socio-economic and democratic progress. Aware of the importance of the Yugoslav-Croat, that is, Serb-Croat relations for the stabilization of the situation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and the future trends in the Balkans, we have made the first, but important steps toward the normalization of our relations.

The FRY remains committed to the Vance plan, as one of its signatories. It favors a three-stage, that is, incremental settlement of all outstanding problems, starting from the simpler toward the more complex ones. The FRY will try to contribute to the strengthening of mutual trust, but will not interfere in the direct negotiations between Zagreb and Knin. It will accept any solution that the two sides reach agreement on. Unfortunately there are also those who do not care for that agreement.

This is confirmed by the latest events that took place yesterday. I condemn most sharply yesterday's bombing of Udbina Airport in the Republic of Serbian Krajina. I consider it an irresponsible and unfounded act. With this act, the UN Security Council has once again given in to the pressure of those countries in whose interest is the prolongation rather than the end of the war.

At the moment when a large part of the international community, especially European countries, are actively taking part in the peace process, this represents a direct obstruction of this process and encouragement to the militants and extremists supporting all three sides in the conflict.

Therefore, the danger of spreading the military conflicts outside the borders of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina is great. This is in direct opposition to the interests of Europe, as, after all, all this is happening in its own yard.

In the interest of peace in Europe, I appeal to all member-countries of the UN Security Council to reexamine the decision on the extension of military activities outside the territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Yugoslavia will continue to work on the soonest possible attainment of the peaceful and just political solution that will lead to the end of the civil war.

Communist Leader Warns of Nationalism, War

AU2311110194 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 20 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with SK-PJ Chairman Ratko Krsmanovic by Andjelka Popovic; place and date not given: "The Crisis Is Oppressing the Poor"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Ratko Krsmanovic was recently elected chairman of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia (SK-PJ). Although he does not like to talk about himself, we have learned that he graduated in philosophy. He is Montenegrin by nationality and a communist by commitment (since the age of 16). Krsmanovic, the former deputy chairman of the SK-PJ, the chairman of the Party Committee for Montenegro and the first SK-PJ delegate to the Federal Parliament, stated that his election to the position of party chairman—after Mr. Dragomir Draskovic had left the party—resulted from the desire of the SK-PJ to dissociate itself from the leadership that had most harmed the League of Communists of the former Yugoslavia.

About SK-PJ's support for a "fourth" Yugoslavia, Mr. Krsmanovic said this:

[Krsmanovic] The SK-PJ does not intend to reintegrate Yugoslavia by force; it only wants to stress the interest of the people in living together. The reintegration of relations, and not only among the Yugoslav peoples, will be gradual and complicated. Our name contains our determination, too—we are a movement that resists the plans to divide the state and to establish new forms of domination. The Yugoslav spirit in our name is not only an idea; on the contrary, it represents active resistance to clerical nationalism and chauvinism as the lowest level of consciousness and humanity. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] What do you see as the similarities and differences between Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) and SK-PJ policy?

[Krsmanovic] Although the SPS declares itself a modern and moderate left-wing party, I do not think that a mere

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declaration can be proof that it really is left-wing. The SPS struggle for the aims of the left-wing movement is not convincing. It is obvious that the SPS supports the reestablishment of capitalism in its unsophisticated and primitive form. SPS economic policy is based on the severe restriction of economic freedom for the people, and the burden of the crisis is shifted onto the poorest, which contradicts the aims of the left-wing movement. We are in opposition, and the fact that there are people in the SPS who think in the same way as SK-PJ members does not lessen our opposition to that party.

[Popovic] For what do you reproach the ruling party on the one hand and the opposition on the other?

[Krsmanovic] The ruling party is operating under extremely difficult conditions. There is no justification, however, for transferring the crisis to the poorest social strata and for the restriction of human rights, whereas on the other hand the newly rich and powerful, the new political elite, strut around like peacocks.

The ruling party is also responsible for the collapse of a series of values that were progressing toward the modern world. The existing social situation is neither inspiring nor creative, and even paralyzes creative powers. It is the creators who have been forced into poverty and deprived of dignity. There is trade in all possible kinds of goods, even with human destinies. Avramovic's program is a ray of hope; it provides a possibility of escaping from present policies, which are leading to complete deterioration.

As far as the opposition is concerned, I think that it has based itself on anti-communism and nationalism. These "values" are losing their significance today. Not until the opposition starts a productive struggle and offers a social program that will please the majority, will it in my opinion achieve any significant results. Apart from that, the opposition parties are predominantly right-wing; they represent only the elite, both national and economic. [passage omitted]

[Popovic] What do you think could be the solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia and to the revived problem of Kosovo?

[Krsmanovic] It is impossible to talk about a solution to the crisis unless peace is achieved and firm guarantees are given that national minority rights will be protected. The attitude of the international community has to change; all those interests that do not fit in with the real needs of our peoples have to be given up. This is only a temporary solution, since only integrating processes can eliminate centers of latent crisis.

The problem of Kosovo has to be solved in the Serbian and Yugoslav parliaments. In the view of the SK-PJ, the only way to solve these problems is to establish a dialogue between the Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and the other nations and nationalities that live there.

[Popovic] Does anything represent a danger to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia?

[Krsmanovic] The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is not safe from national conflicts. First of all, there is the danger of war being imported into Yugoslavia. Apart from that, there is the danger from nationalism "at home." When I say this, I primarily have Montenegrin nationalism in mind, which supports an independent Montenegro by promoting hostility toward Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, there is the greater- Serbia syndrome, which ignores both Montenegrin rights as an equal federal unit and Montenegrins and all others who declare themselves as Montenegrins. Serbian nationalism is stronger in Montenegro than in Serbia itself, but there are ideas which support nationalist politics in Serbia, too. I still hope that the economic interests of the people will make this kind of behavior appear trivial and that it will be the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that will support the establishment of communication, and not only in the area of the former Yugoslavia.

[Box, p 2]

Seselj's Ode to Tito

[Popovic] It is surprising to what extent the former communists have transformed their attitudes—the SK-PJ is suffering the fiercest attacks from the former communists, from those who had numerous privileges in the former League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

[Krsmanovic] If we look back, we see that some right-wing leaders used to be active members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Let us start with Vojislav Seselj, who wrote a beautiful ode to Tito. It is also well-known that Vuk Draskovic had the position of an adviser in former cabinets, used to write speeches for former politicians, and was "the first man of letters" in the League of Communists. Take Novak Kilibarda [National Party leader in Montenegro] for example, who, as dean of a Niksic University faculty, asked for a better frame for a Tito's photograph since he was unhappy with the one that he had in his office. He is a great anti-communist now. I ask myself, and I think that the citizens of this country also have to ask themselves, whether the people who change their attitudes so drastically can be trusted.

Serbia

Radicals Blame Milosevic for NATO Strike

AU2211133894 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 p 4

[Report attributed "FONET": "Milosevic Guided Aircraft"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—Tomislav Nikolic, deputy chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, said that "the NATO aircraft that bombed Udbina were guided by

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Slobodan Milosevic." He said that his behavior over the last year, and particularly over the last three months, Milosevic had turned the entire world against the Serbs in the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The federal government should now fulfill its obligations under the Vance Plan, announce the lifting of the Drina River blockade, and defend the Republic of Serbian Krajina," Nikolic said.

NATO Strike Meant To Draw RSK Into War

AU2211144494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 p 4

[Statement by Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party; place and date not given: "Attempt to Draw Republic of Serbian Krajina in War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "NATO was extremely benevolent toward the offensive of the Muslim and Croatian forces, despite the clear evidence that regular units of the Croatian Army were involved in the conflict. The bombing of Udbina Airport represents an attempt to draw the Republic of Serbian Krajina into the conflict, to add weight to the Croatian threats."

"We expect that the Serb side will not respond to these provocations," Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the Democratic Party, said.

Andjelkovic Condemns Bombing, Serb Leaders

LD2211171594 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 22 Nov (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] condemns in the sharpest terms the bombardment of Udbina airbase and civilian targets, but it also condemns the policy that led to the refusal of the Contact Group's peace plan—Zoran Andjelkovic today told the Serbian Assembly on behalf of his party's club of deputies.

He said that this policy had fuelled the continuation of the war, something that is the gravest crime.

"There would have been no Muslim offensive, no Kupres, no Trnovo, no Majevica had the peace plan been accepted," Andjelkovic said and asked—"how long do people have to die and suffer to feed the vanity and greed of their politicians?"

Andjelkovic said that the SPS condemned local warmongers, too, mentioning in particular Djindjic, Kostunica, and Nikolic [opposition leaders]. "They are merely making political profits out of the suffering of the Serbian people," Andjelkovic stressed.

By way of evidence, Andjelkovic said that the soundness of the SPS policy is evident in the fact that it was supported by the majority of the people. [passage omitted]

SPO Condemns Support of Spreading War

AU2211143994 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 p 4

[Statement by the Serbian Renewal Movement in Belgrade on 21 November: "We Condemn All Supporters of Spreading War"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—"In connection with the NATO air raid on Udbina Airport, we most strongly condemn all those who support the spreading of the war, be it countries that openly side with the Muslim-Croatian alliance or the political and military extremists in the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the Republic of Serbian Krajina [in Croatia], whose aim is to drag Serbia and Montenegro into the conflict at all costs," says the statement issued yesterday by the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO].

"At this dangerous point in time wise decisions and reactions are needed. The SPO believes that the acceptance of the Contact Group Peace Plan is the only reasonable response that will prevent the spreading of the war and a tragedy of great magnitude. So long as the Pale leadership rejects the peace plan, the international community will label the Serbs as the main culprits for the continuation of the war, even when the offensives are started by the Muslims or the Croats."

Iranian Envoy Meets With Sandzak Leaders

LD2211151494 Tehran IRNA in English 1223 GMT 22 Nov 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Nov. 22, IRNA—Iran's ambassador to Croatia, Mohammad Javad Asayesh, Monday held talks with a number of political and cultural leaders of Sandzak on the latest developments in the Balkans region.

Outlining the critical situation of Bosnians in Sandzak, the leaders noted that state terrorism exercised by the Serbs and their mounting pressure upon Muslim people of the region has forced Muslims to take refuge in foreign countries.

Sandzak is located southwest of Serbia near Montenegro and has a population of 200,000, including Bosnian Muslims which constitute 70 percent of the population. They said in order to hold their grip on the city, the Serbs have launched a reign of terror and intimidation, often searching homes and imprisoning people.

One of the leaders reiterated that the people of Sandzak loved the Islamic revolution of Iran as was evident in celebrations they held last year on the occasion of the revolution's victory.

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